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## Valuing bi- and multi-lingualism : a challenge to the monolingual framework for initial teacher training in secondary schools in England

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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000d3bd>

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**Valuing bi- and multi-lingualism:  
a challenge to the monolingual framework for  
initial teacher training in secondary schools in England**

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**Teacher's Certificate, BA, Dip Ed, MEd**

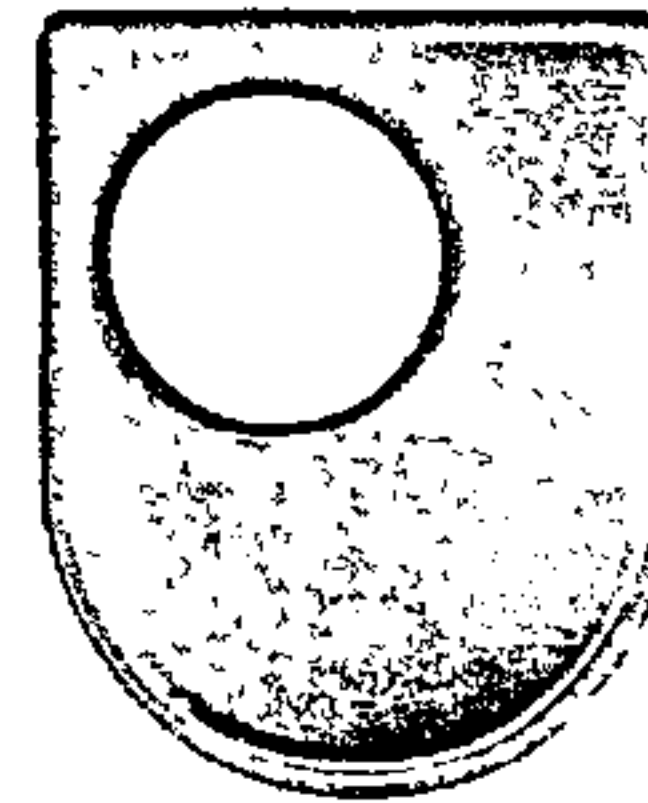
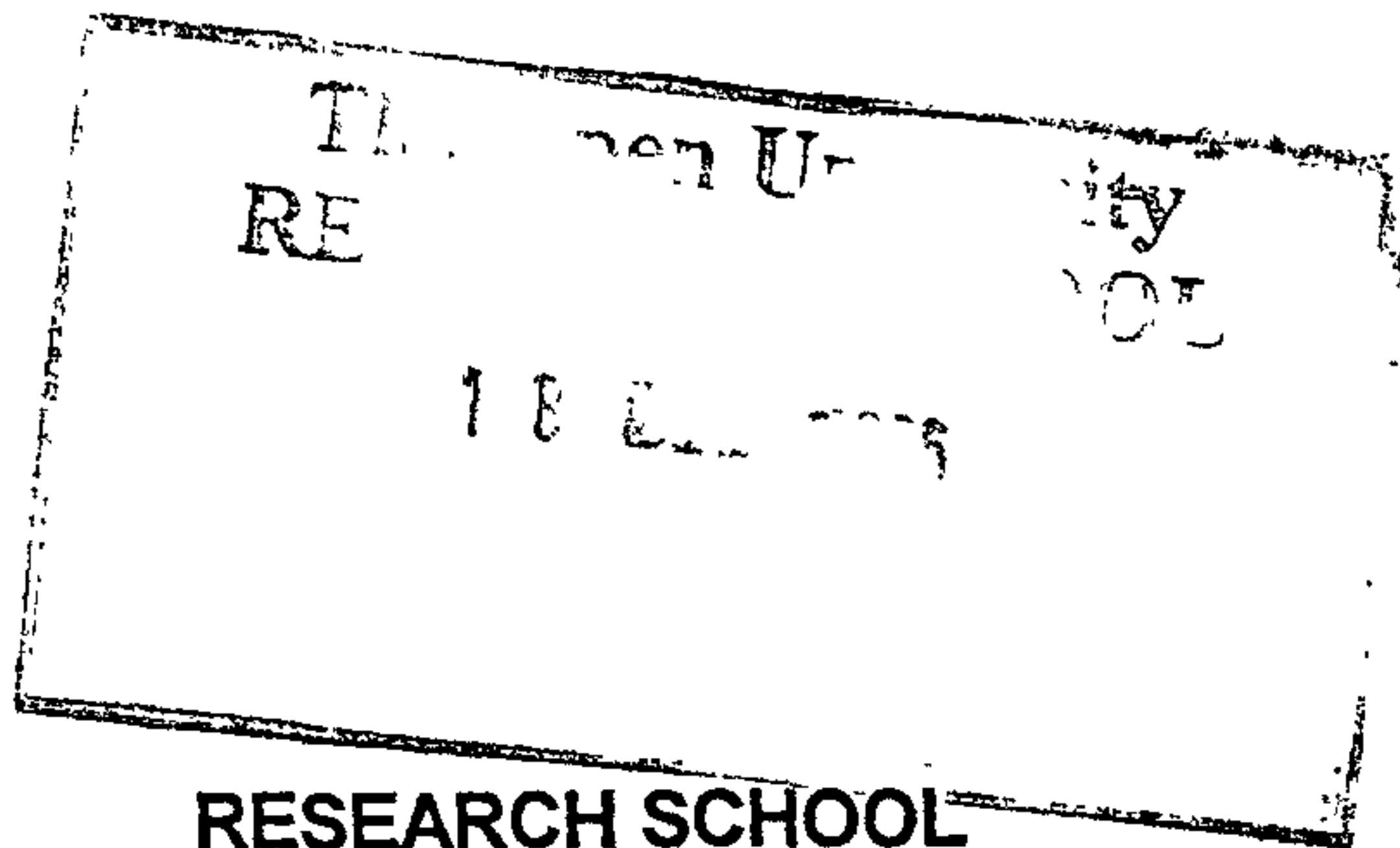
**This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Centre for Education and Educational Technology,  
The Open University**

**September 2006**

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## Abstract

This research investigates the perceived problem in initial teacher training of learning to teach bilingual pupils (TTA, 2004) in state secondary schools in England. It challenges the emphasis, within the national Standards for initial teacher training, on English as an additional language (EAL) (TTA, 2002), rather than the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. The thesis postulates that the national Standards privilege a monolingual perspective. This perspective maintains English as the dominant language within the education system rather than drawing on a more dynamic multilingual framework.

The data emanate from a multiple-site case study involving interviews in four schools and four Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) working in partnership to provide initial teacher training. The research examines underlying policies, beliefs and strategies.

The thesis concludes that the monolingual framework underpinning educational policy in England encourages a deficit model of bilingualism which determines the focus and discourse of policy and practice in initial teacher training. Few schools know how many bilingual pupils they have. This omission, combined with the focus on EAL in the Standards, means that trainees receive limited input on bilingualism from schools and HEIs. Trainers lack specific training in the benefits of bilingualism and rely on personal experience rather than theoretical knowledge. Consequently, trainees fail to draw on theories of language acquisition in their approach to teaching.

The research found that some schools and individual HEI trainers offered positive models. These encouraged trainees to place language learning at the heart of teaching and learning. Working directly with bilingual pupils helped trainees to appreciate the potential of



teaching within a multilingual framework. Future research could concentrate on bilingual pupils' perspectives and positive strategies employed in schools.

This research advocates that economic and social benefits, including the promotion of global citizens who can appreciate other worldviews and be flexible in their thinking, could emerge from a multilingual framework.

## Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks go to my untiring supervisors, Dr Indra Sinka and Dr John Butcher, for their inspiration and support.

I am also indebted to:-

- all those who took part in the research for their time and considered responses.
- my family, especially Hugh and Angharad Phillips, as well as friends, colleagues, my own teachers and former pupils, all of whom have encouraged me over the years to see beyond the confines of present horizons and reach for what may initially appear unattainable.
- all the inspiring books and places that have spurred me on to realise my dreams.
- The Open University for funding the regional studentship but more importantly for its deep-rooted inclusive principles that promote a love of life-long learning.

## **Glossary of Acronyms**

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
CALP	Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency
DES	Department for Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (as from 2001)
DRB	Designated Recommending Bodies
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
E-learning	Electronic learning
EMTAG	Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant
ERA	Education Reform Act
ESOL	English for Speakers of other Languages
ESL	English as a Second Language
GTP	Graduate Training Programme
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
LA	Local Authority (LEAs became LAs in July 2006)
MFL	Modern Foreign Languages
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum
NASSEA	Northern Association of Support Services for Equality and Achievement
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status

PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
PLASC	Pupil Level Annual School Census
SATs	Standard Assessment Tasks
SEN	Special Educational Needs
TDA	Teacher Development Agency
TTA	Teacher Training Agency, (changed to the TDA above in 2005)

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# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

## 1.1 Introduction to the key research questions and major themes

The main focus for this research is how initial teacher trainees learn to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England. It addresses three key research questions:

- Why are the Standards relating to bilingualism frequently perceived, by initial teacher trainers and trainees, as problematic?
- To what extent does initial teacher training prepare trainees to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England?
- How do policies, beliefs and strategies underpin this training?

These questions encompass three interlinked themes of:

- bilingualism
- initial teacher training
- social justice and equity.

Firstly, the thesis addresses the definitions and theories encompassed within the full spectrum of bilingualism and compares this with the limited requirements in the national professional Standards for qualified teacher status (QTS) (TTA, 2002) that focus more narrowly on pupils with English as an additional language (EAL).

Throughout this research, the term bilingual encompasses the use of two or more languages in terms of an individual characteristic (Baker, 2006:3; Romaine, 2000:33). As Skutnabb-Kangas states, '*bilingualism as a goal implies by definition that (at least) two languages are involved*' (2000:571). Multilingualism is used to indicate the use of more than two languages in a societal or group context, as in multilingual schools. The term 'pupils with English as an additional language' refers to pupils that are identified by schools as those in need of support with English as it is not their first language (DfES, 2000).

The second theme focuses on initial teacher training in relation to learning to teach bilingual pupils in England. Initial teacher training varies in the four countries that constitute the United Kingdom. Scotland and Ireland have their own Standards and procedures. Wales, although tied into the English legislation, has the possibility of a qualification in Welsh (Williams, 2005). This study concentrates therefore on secondary initial teacher training in England. Without the influence of local Celtic or Gallic languages, which are starting to be revived in the other three countries, this thesis postulates that England remains solidly monolingual in its policy-making.

The terminology of training, trainer and trainee is used explicitly to reflect the current political agenda in relation to initial teacher training in England and Wales. The process of learning to teach is based on set criteria and targets detailed in the national professional Standards for qualified teacher status and requirements for initial teacher training (ITT) (TTA, 2002). During the period of the research, there were forty-two Standards required for secondary school teacher trainees. Two of these refer directly to pupils learning English as an additional language.

- *S3.2.5 With the help of an experienced teacher, they can identify the levels of attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language. They begin to analyse the language demands and learning activities in order to provide cognitive challenge as well as language support.*
- *S3.3.5 They are able to support those who are learning English as an additional language, with the help of an experienced teacher where appropriate.*



Six others could be relevant to the concerns of this thesis but none of the Standards directly refer to the whole range of bilingual pupils (cf Appendix Two). This omission remains in the proposed new Standards for 2007 (cf Appendix Two).

These competence statements are important because training in the present context employs a reductionist approach whereby knowledge and skills are broken down into individual competences. To gain QTS, trainees have to produce evidence for all forty-two Standards. The emphasis, however, in secondary school training is on the subject specialism. In order to respond to the challenge of learning to teach bilingual pupils, it is important for trainees to gain an overview of the role of language within their subject specialism.

Within the teacher training process at secondary school level in England, issues relating to language generally should be addressed through the Key Stage Three Strategy (cf 4.2.ii.c). This strategy encourages all subject specialists to consider how their subject reinforces literacy, numeracy, scientific and information technology skills (DfEE, 2001). In terms of literacy skills, the focus is firmly on the use of English. This may encompass English as an additional language but does not include issues of bilingualism or linguistic diversity.

This thesis argues that issues relating to the full spectrum of bilingualism and linguistic diversity, rather than simply the needs of pupils with English as an additional language, should be addressed in initial teacher training in order to challenge the monolingual framework (cf p.9) that potentially deskills future citizens and fails to recognise the linguistic assets of bilingual pupils.

It is important that initial teacher trainees perceive English as an additional language as part of full spectrum of bilingualism rather than as an isolated competence. The process of maintaining and valuing bilingual assets plays a vital role in the emotional, social and



economic well-being of individual learners and groups within society. Attention to well-being is a fundamental tenet of the five outcomes of *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2004) as expressed in the Children Act 2004 and therefore should underpin initial teacher training.

Initial teacher training recognises the Vygotskian principle that language is a basic human skill at the heart of the learning process (Vygotsky, 1962; Kozulin, 1986; Moll, 1990; Van der Veer, R. and Valsiner, 1994) which is fundamental to this research. Vygotsky stresses the need for interaction and dialogue before internalisation and cognitive development can take place (Vygotsky, 1978:90). Teacher trainees need to develop skills which help all pupils, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds, explore context and meaning. This plays a crucial part in enabling pupils to establish ownership of ideas and knowledge.

The underlying principle of the importance of social interaction and constructive discussion in the education process should inform all teaching and learning, if pupils are to be empowered by expressing their own ideas (Cummins, 2000). All teachers, including secondary school specialists, need to consider the full range of languages which pupils use in their lives in order to maximise pupils' potential within the educational context. If other languages are to be included in the core of teaching and learning, ideas in initial teacher training need to move beyond perceiving other languages as '*at best as a rich resource*' suitable for '*a topic on language awareness*' or the occasional curriculum input mentioned by Bourne (1997:1). Recognising and valuing languages other than English, as part of social justice and equity in education, should be an integral part of the teaching and learning process.

The third theme of social justice and equity is another crucial underpinning principle for the whole process of initial teacher training in relation to bilingual pupils. This thesis argues that if the resource and assets of bilingualism are not recognised in the educational

process then individual pupils and groups of pupils will not experience equality of opportunity on a par with their monolingual peers.

## **1.2 Rationale for the research**

A major stimulus for this research is the negative response to the question of learning to teach pupils with English as an additional language (EAL) in the Teacher Training Agency surveys of newly qualified teachers from 2002-2004. These surveys indicate a significant difference between the positive responses from the majority of trainees to other areas of training and the comparatively negative responses to questions relating to the education of minority ethnic groups and pupils with EAL. As the results of the surveys show (cf Appendix One), only 32% considered their training 'good or better'<sup>1</sup> in relation to the education of minority ethnic pupils and 25% in relation to pupils with EAL. This compares with 45% 'good or better' in relation to special needs and 75% and above for other areas of training.

Through a qualitative case study, this research explores what training is provided in relation to learning to teach bilingual pupils, including those with English as an additional language, and why trainees may perceive their training in this area as less than 'good'. The multi-site case study involves four schools and four higher education institutions (HEIs) in two local education authorities.

The choice of institutions springs from the funding for this research as a regional studentship with The Open University in the South, where the majority of schools involved in the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and their partner higher education institutions operate in a context of low levels of language diversity when compared to inner urban areas. Most of the recent research in connection with bilingual pupils at secondary

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<sup>1</sup> The classification of 'good or better' is specified in the TTA surveys (cf Appendix One).



level in England emerges from an inner urban multilingual context (Gillborne and Youdell, 2000; Mills, 2001; Shain, 2003). This thesis attempts to address the gap in research by selecting schools that have less than 30% pupils identified with EAL (cf 3.1.iii.). The difficulty of meeting the national Standards in relation to pupils with EAL in low diversity settings is expressed anecdotally within the data, through papers from workshops conducted at Multiverse conferences in 2004 ([www.multiverse.ac.uk](http://www.multiverse.ac.uk)) and through the personal experience of the researcher (cf 3.1.v.).

At a school level, the emphasis on pupils with EAL is reflected in the national data collection required by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). All schools in England must enter details of pupils' ethnicity and state the number of pupils with EAL on the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) forms. In 2003, the figures for EAL pupils stood at 10% in primary schools and 8% in secondary schools, which is similar to the proportions in 2002 (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003). The latest figures for 2006 show an increase to 12.5% in primary schools and 9.5% in secondary schools in England ([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk), June 2006). This means that in an average class of thirty pupils, three would be designated as pupils with EAL. If all bilingual pupils were included, this proportion would be higher as pupils with more than one language, who are considered to be fluent in English, are rarely entered under the EAL category.

At present, no national data on linguistic backgrounds is available, although consultation is underway with a view to establishing a national survey from 2007 (cf 4.2.ii.a.). This omission raises issues of equality and social justice, as without accurate data, there is no means of tracking attainment or performance for the full spectrum of bilingual pupils.

Underpinning part of the rationale behind this research is Gillborn and Youdell's warning that

*'unless policy and practice address equity as a matter of concerted, conscious and deliberate attention...existing inequalities will not only persist, they may well worsen.'*

(Gillborn and Youdell 2000: 222)

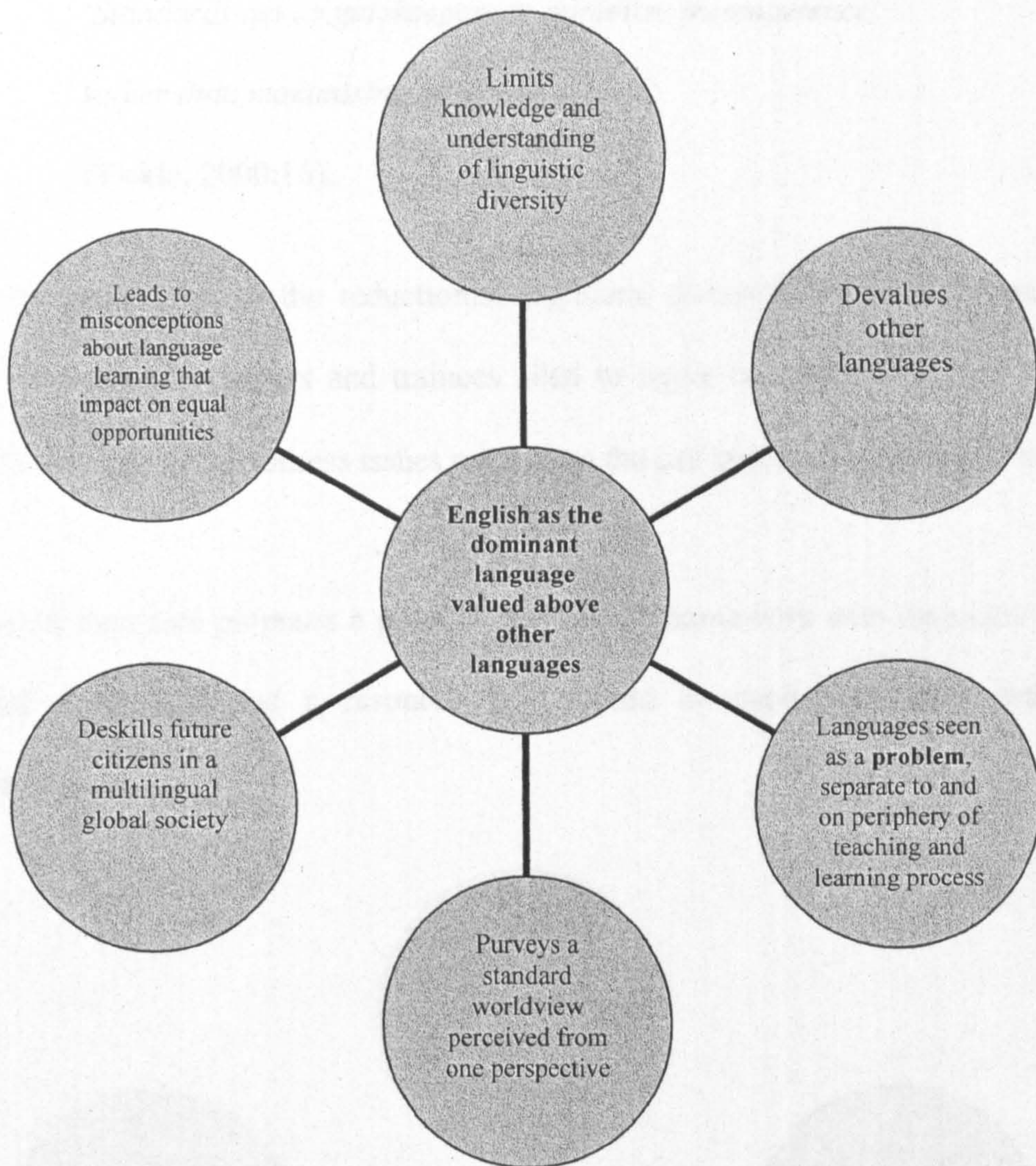
Issues of bilingualism sit firmly within the social justice agenda. If teachers and the education system generally do not actively value languages other than English, then pupils with daily access to other languages are barred from the full recognition of their potential as learners. It is vital then that initial teacher trainees explore bilingualism as part of the equality of opportunity debate required by Standard 3.3.14 (TTA, 2002). In so doing, they need to understand the full spectrum of bilingualism and English as an additional language.

### **1.3 Underpinning concepts and frameworks**

Within the theme of equality and social justice, this thesis examines Ruiz's concept of language as '*a right*' and '*a resource*' and challenges the prevalent model in the secondary school curriculum and initial teacher training of language diversity as '*a problem*' (Ruiz, 1984; cf 2.2.iii.a., 2.2.iii.b., 2.2.iii.c.).

The concept of bilingualism as a '*problem*' rather than a '*resource*' seems to spring from the emphasis on English as the dominant language within education and the subsequent monolingual perspective. The following monolingual framework for initial teacher training and secondary education in England emerges from the literature review and the data analysis. It encapsulates some of the key issues addressed in this research.





*Figure 1.1 A monolingual framework*

The emphasis on English as a dominant language devalues knowledge and understanding of linguistic diversity. By focusing on EAL rather than the full spectrum of bilingualism, schools in areas where there is little visible linguistic diversity, such as School 1 in this study, tend to dismiss the Standards relating to pupils with EAL as not applicable to their context.

This thesis contends that in order to break away from this monolingual framework, trainees and trainers need to have a vision of a multilingual alternative and the creative energy to expand the Standards beyond the minimum competence required. Tickle (2000) views such creative energy as crucial if training is to move beyond the notion that



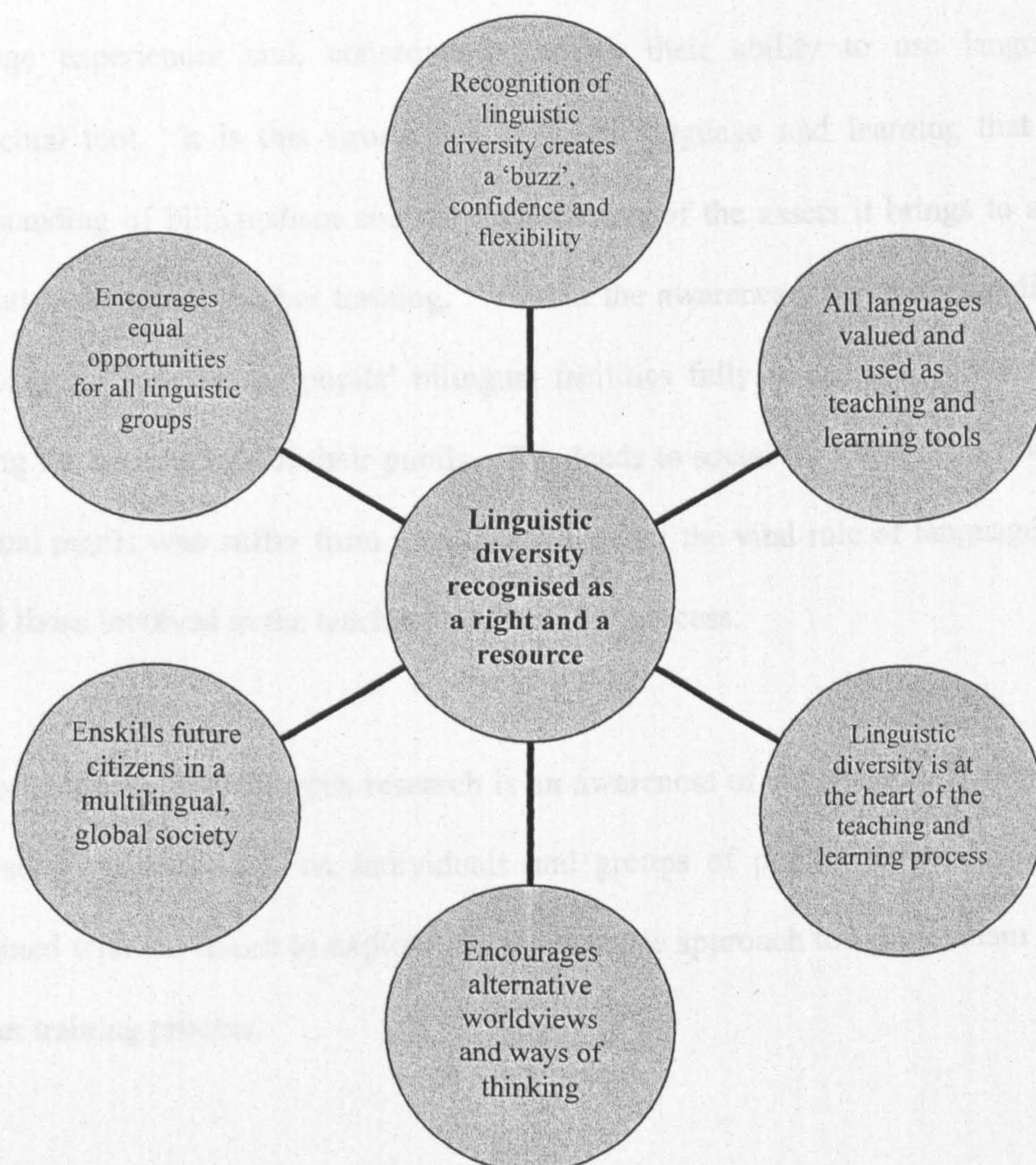
*'Standards act as gatekeepers to minimise incompetence*

*rather than maximising potential'*

(Tickle, 2000:16).

This caveat resonates with the reductionist argument discussed in the data analysis (cf 4.3.ii). Initial teacher trainers and trainees need to move beyond a notion of minimum competence, if they are to address issues relating to the full spectrum of bilingualism.

This research therefore proposes a possible alternative framework with linguistic diversity recognised as a right and a resource that should be capitalised upon rather than problematised.



*Figure 1.2 An alternative multilingual framework*



This multilingual model has the potential to promote dynamic symbiotic relationships between languages and ways of thinking. It challenges the monolingual framework and offers alternative responses. Based on a transformative model that encourages debate (Cummins, 2000), a multilingual perspective could help teachers and learners to value diversity. It offers opportunities to engage whole communities in the teaching and learning process.

In line with Vygotsky's theory of learning as a social construct with language at the core of the learning process (Vygotsky, 1962), this multilingual model celebrates linguistic diversity as a resource and a right (Ruiz, 1984) at the very heart of the teaching and learning. As Vygotsky (1962) highlights, contexts can impoverish or enrich pupils' language experiences and, consequently, affect their ability to use language as an intellectual tool. It is this strong link between language and learning that makes the understanding of bilingualism and the appreciation of the assets it brings to a learner an imperative for initial teacher training. Without the awareness, the understanding, and the knowledge of how to use pupils' bilingual facilities fully in the classroom, teachers are limiting the life chances of their pupils. This leads to social injustice. It is not simply the bilingual pupils who suffer from a restricted view of the vital role of language in learning but all those involved in the teaching and learning process.

A strong driving force for this research is an awareness of the potentially negative impact such social injustice has on individuals and groups of pupils in the education system combined with the desire to explore a more positive approach to bilingualism in the initial teacher training process.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Literature Review**

## **2.1 Introduction to the Literature Review**

The Literature Review seeks to explore the positive connotations connected to the full spectrum of bilingualism. It challenges the deficit discourse associated with English as an additional language and with the national Standards relating to initial teacher training in England (TTA, 2002; Appendix Two). This chapter, therefore, examines the definitions and debates associated with bilingualism and initial teacher training within the overarching principle of equal opportunities. The focus is on literature which may illuminate the process of initial teacher training in relation to learning to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools.

## **2.2 Bilingualism**

### **2.2.i Definitions of bilingualism**

Bilingualism or multi-lingualism is described by Clyne as the use of or competence in more than one language (Clyne, 2000:301). The facility to use more than one language is the norm for the majority of people in the world (Baker, 2003; Edwards, J. 1994; Edwards, V. 2004; Grosjean, 1982; Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a). The spread of English, as a channel for international communication and a perceived means of global access, contributes to the fact that there are more speakers of English, who speak at least one other language than there are monolingual speakers of English (Crystal, 1997; Dalby, 2003; Edwards, V. 2004). If teacher trainees are to appreciate why bilingualism is an important consideration in teaching and learning, they need to understand that the monolingual perspective, prevalent in education and teacher training in England, is a minority experience when considered from a global standpoint. Whilst the monolingual perspective remains unchallenged, the data from this research suggests that it is easy for trainers and trainees to dismiss bilingualism as a minority concern and an adjunct to the main issues for teaching and learning (cf 4.3.ii).

Trainers and trainees would benefit from a theoretical understanding of what constitutes bilingualism. Baker (2006:2-17) details the complexity of defining bilingualism and multilingualism. There are many variations in definition depending on concepts of fluency, frequency, and purpose. These concepts are overlaid with distinctions as to whether bilingualism is an individual or group asset.

Wei (2000) identifies thirty seven different categories of bilingualism. These categories range along a continuum from balanced bilingual, an individual, who is fluent in at least two languages, to someone who uses more than one language in their daily life regardless of competence in the languages. As Baker points out,

*'Given the great number of dimensions of skill in each language and the great range of different contexts where a language may or may not be used, it becomes apparent that a simple categorisation of who is or who is not bilingual is almost impossible.'*

Baker (1988:2)

Despite this complexity, it is important for all those involved in the initial teacher training process to address some of the following definitions if trainees are to promote linguistic diversity as a positive resource rather than a problem within their own classrooms. Without an awareness of the full range of bilingualism, the common perception that bilingual means complete fluency and therefore there is no need to acknowledge it further continues to hold sway. The other predominant perspective is the one reflected in the Standards of supporting and meeting the needs of pupils with EAL. This maintains a deficit model of bilingualism. By extending knowledge to the full spectrum of bilingualism, teacher trainees may progress beyond the minimum requirements of the Standards and start addressing issues of identity, recognition and social justice for all bilingual pupils.



Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a:573) offers four criteria for defining bilingualism. The first concerns origin and assumes learning at least two languages from infancy. This notion is subsumed in the concept of balanced bilingual which was the most prevalent definition used by participants in this research.

The second criterion is identification either internally by the person concerned or externally by others involved in the communication process. This criterion informed the present study as participants were asked whether they considered themselves to be bilingual.

The third involves competence. This ranges from complete competence in more than one language through coming into contact with another language. If the latter definition was used, all those who have attempted to learn a foreign language, attended a school with a multilingual intake, or have travelled to countries where other languages are spoken, may claim to be bilingual if they had reached a satisfactory level of competence.

The fourth criterion is function. This involves the appropriate use of more than one language when required. This aspect of bilingualism was evident with bilingual participants when they described their use of various languages. It also echoes the definition offered by Wiles (1985) that refers to any young person who uses more than one language in their everyday life.

These are useful considerations within the initial teacher training context as trainees are likely to encounter some aspects of these criteria within schools and amongst their peers. However, the materials and documentation from the Higher Education Institutions and the schools involved in this research did not attempt any definition of bilingualism. As demanded by the Standards (TTA, 2000; cf Appendix Two), these materials focus



exclusively on English as an additional language. This confirms the covert message that English is the language of privilege within the English education system.

The only mention of bilingualism occurred in the training materials for one of the two local authorities (LA) used in this research. These materials offer the definition that bilingual refers to someone who has regular access to more than one language. This ranges from beginner bilinguals, or early stages of English language acquisition, to more advanced English as an additional language (EAL) learners. The referent once again emphasises the demands of the Standards (TTA, 2000) and the terminology of EAL used to attain government funding (cf 4.2.ii.e.; 4.2.ii.g.). The LA training, however, continued to refer to bilingualism in a group discussion activity that required trainees to discuss the advantages of bilingualism. In this way, it offered a wider view of bilingualism than any of the other training materials (cf 4.2.ii.f.).

### **2.2.i.a Balanced Bilingual**

The most commonly quoted model amongst participants in this research was the '*idealised concept*' (Baker, 2000:1) of a '*balanced bilingual*' (Baker, 2003:7; Cummins and Swain, 1986:4; Edwards, J. 1995:57-58; Romaine, 2000:236). This term was coined in 1933 by Bloomfield and referred to someone who is fluent and equally competent in more than one language. Edwards notes that alternative terms are ambilinguals or equilinguals. In reality such competence is rare, as bilinguals usually use each language for different purposes (Edwards, J, 1995:3).

As Romaine (2000:236) points out, the notion of equal competence implies a static concept of language and ignores the considerable variation between generations and geographical repertoires. Romaine's (1989, 1994, 2000) research benefits from a strong global perspective. She cites Hispanic second or third generations in the USA who speak fluent

Spanish, which may differ considerably from the European version or a previous generation of Hispanics in the States (Romaine, 2000:236). This was evident in School 2 in this present research where pupils from Argentina spoke a different Spanish to that taught by the school for GCSE and A level. However, in this school, the difference was seen as a positive resource rather than a problem or deficit (cf 4.2.ii.c.).

For many potentially balanced bilinguals, the home and public domains remain separate. This can work well and have advantages of enjoying alternative worlds. On occasions, for young people, it can lead to a sense of isolation as described by both Dorfmann (1998) and Said (1999). However, their detailed personal accounts of growing up with more than one language highlight the benefits as well as the occasional feelings of alienation. These are accounts from middle class backgrounds and yet the tensions of living in two languages and cultures are rife. Cummins and Swain suspect that '*there is no such thing as bilingualism without tears*' (1986:99). Teachers and initial trainees need to understand these possible tensions and help pupils come to terms with the enormous advantages their bilingualism offers. Such awareness would also be applicable to monolingual pupils, as any competent level of language use requires detailed attention and persistence.

In schools in this research, if the phenomenon of balanced bilingual was noted at all, it was not seen as a problem. However, only rarely was it identified as a resource which could be used as an asset. The question is whether initial teacher training encourages bilingualism to be seen as a resource that has implications for teaching and learning and whether trainees develop strategies for sensitively using the knowledge of more than one language as a tool for learning.

This notion of a perfect, balanced bilingualism is counter-balanced by the perceived problems of managing to articulate complex ideas in English as required by the secondary

school curriculum. This leads to the concept of semi-lingualism where there is a perceived lack of proficiency in all languages.

### 2.2.i.b Semi-lingualism

This label, with its negative connotations, was popular during the 1970s. The concept concentrates on deficiencies in language competence in terms of range of vocabulary, incorrect grammar and the inability to express emotions and abstract concepts (Baker, 2000:6; Baker, 2006:10; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a). However, it ignores the possible social, cultural and economic influences upon the speakers. Rather than critiquing the system of testing or teaching languages, semi-lingualism implies a fault or defect in the speaker.

The continued use of the concept of semi-lingualism supports Burck's (2005:10) observation that, despite challenges by sociolinguistics to the '*pathologisation of bilingualism*', negativity continues to play a significant role in perceptions. Romaine (2000) further supports the notion of negativity associated with the concept of semi-lingualism, as it reflects the popular concept of linguistic competence in terms of a container metaphor, with the implication of '*full*' and '*half full*' (Romaine, 2000:234). Rather than emphasising the positive benefits of operating in two languages regardless of competence levels, semi-lingualism conjures up images of underachievement caused by undeveloped language use in individuals.

As Baker (2003:9) advocates, the individual learner is often blamed for shortcomings rather than the economic, social and political contexts. This blaming of the 'victim' is a common model in the deficit thinking ideology (Valencia and Solórzano, 2004:124-133; Labov, 2004:135-151). Valencia and Solórzano (2004) identify three major rationales that support deficit thinking. The first is a genetic argument that places the blame firmly in the field of



biology. The second rationale in deficit thinking is to blame poor educational performance on socio-economic factors such as poverty, culture and language. A third factor cited is home environment. Within this deficit framework, the pupil bears the brunt of the blame rather than the system. Although the above research was undertaken in the United States of America, the deficit thinking model is reflected in research in England.

Gillborn and Youdell (2000) also warn against this tendency for attaching the responsibility for failure to the pupil rather than the system. They use an in-depth study of two comprehensive secondary schools in the outer boroughs of London over a period of two academic years from 1995-1997. Both were co-educational and multi-ethnic. These form the basis for a multiple-site case study and allow for detailed comparisons.

The focus of the research is on comparative 'success' at GCSE level and the impact this had on the schools (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000:7). They conclude that, although there is lip service to equality by government, inequalities still exist. These inequalities are reproduced and extended at the levels of policy and practice. They argue that school ethos and individual teachers can '*work against the logic of national reform*' (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000:220). Through an extensive analysis of the macro policies and underlying theories, this research is generalisable from the specifics of two schools. It produces a thought-provoking challenge to an education system that creates '*enormous disparities of experience, achievement and esteem between young people*' (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000:221), whilst acknowledging the importance of individual teachers and schools within the system.

Within the classroom, trainees need to appreciate that early stage learners of English in secondary schools are competent language learners, who, depending on previous formal educational experiences, are likely to have relevant learning skills within subject areas.

Rather than perceiving pupils as semi-lingual, pupils' experiences of other languages should be valued as a resource that can help scaffold future learning rather than a deficit that impairs learning.

### **2.2.i.c Additive (Elite) versus Subtractive (Folk) Bilingualism**

For centuries in Britain, bi- or multi-lingualism has been considered as an important resource in the education of the elite. Rulers from other countries brought their languages with them and those in educated circles spoke different languages according to the context (Edwards, 2004:18-19). This additive or elite bilingualism was a chosen expansion of a linguistic repertoire, where the first language remained well-developed and of high status.

A present day example of this is the bilingual programmes operating in Canada. Here, pupils with high status languages of English learn French in order to become fluent users of both languages. This is additive bilingualism as the first language is fully maintained. Bilingualism and biliteracy is achieved without any cost to the first language (Baker, 2006:332).

In contrast, subtractive bilingualism detracts from the first language, which is often perceived as low status. Cummins (1984:106) describes Lambert's work on additive and subtractive bilingualism. Lambert used this term to describe the situation where there is a subtraction from the first language and its replacement occurs in the second language (Cummins and Swain, 1986:18).

This subtractive form of bilingualism is particularly prevalent for groups who have not chosen to learn another language but through emigration or political turmoil find themselves faced with the reality of having to learn another language in order to survive. This is the most common form of recognised bilingualism in English schools as it equates



with the perception of immigration leading to the acquisition of English as an additional language. In such cases, English becomes the dominant language as required by the political and social context and the original language tends to fade or be used exclusively for social and familial contexts. However, it should be noted that it is possible for both languages to remain equally strong but used in different contexts. Schools are not always aware of the level of language proficiency or frequency of use outside of the school context. This can further the deficit image. Trainees in Schools 2, 3, and 4, who took the opportunities offered to talk to pupils about their use of other languages, found the experience beneficial.

Shain's (2003) research challenges the image of 'folk' bilingualism as a weak form. Her analysis reveals four distinct groups of secondary pupils, who use their home languages for different purposes as a form of resistance, defence or survival. She labels these as The Gang Girls, The Survivors, the Rebels and the Faith Girls. This analysis provides a thought-provoking view that shatters the more commonly held perception of passive Asian girls (Shain, 2003). The Gang Girls raise issues of identity; the Survivors raise issues of group protection against a perceived negative system of education; the Rebels use academic success as a way of challenging the system both at home and in school; and the Faith girls protect their home language as a symbol of their religious commitment. Research, such as this, can provide useful insights for trainees and supplement possible limitations of school placement experiences.

Shain's (2003) research is based on an analysis of theories relating to racism and resistance. She relates these to the semi-structured interviews undertaken with the forty-four girls, aged 13-16, sampled from eight schools in the Greater Manchester and Staffordshire areas of England. They were all born in Britain but of Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Indian descent. The context of an economically deprived inner urban environment contrasts with the

settings for this research, where, although three of the four schools were in urban settings, there are not the same levels of unemployment or economic deprivation. However, a major aim of Shain's research (2003) is to challenge misconceptions of Asian<sup>2</sup> girls and this is highly relevant to schools regardless of their socio-economic or cultural context.

Although Shain emphasises the importance of the socio-historical context and allies herself with early resistance studies on Asian girls, she acknowledges other strategies employed by the participants in the research. It could be argued, as an Asian female, that Shain presents a biased picture of the discourses<sup>3</sup> surrounding Asian girls. She may have related to some of the girls in terms of ethnic or religious origin or use of other languages. She may not have a similar class background as she states that all the girls were from working class backgrounds. However, her 'insider' position (Burgess, H., 1985; cf 3.1.v.) allows for an openness of discussion that may not have emerged otherwise.

Shain's conclusion is that *'schooling plays a central role in filtering discourses and is a site where wider relations of power and cultural definitions are both reinforced and challenged'* (Shain, 2003:125). This sends a strong message to schools about the need to analyse their role in terms of the culture they convey and the discourses they employ. Such analysis could provide stimulating discussion for initial teacher trainees.

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<sup>2</sup> Asian refers to people who have, or whose parents or grandparents have migrated from the Indian sub-continent (including via Africa) (Shain 2003:xi)

<sup>3</sup> Shain (2003:x) uses Mulhern's (2000) definition of discourse as *'language in action...It asserts the priority of socially formed practices of language over the action of individuals who necessarily operate in and through them'* (Mulhern, 2000:181)

### 2.2.i.d Bilingualism involves biculturalism

As Grosjean states, bilingualism and biculturalism '*are not necessarily co-extensive*' (1982:157). Those who use two languages on a regular basis may in fact remain mono-cultural. This appeared to be a major factor with the modern foreign linguist trainees in this study, who saw themselves as using two languages competently in their everyday lives, as they taught a language other than English, but did not describe themselves as bilingual (cf 4.1.vi.). There seemed to be a strong correlation between defining bilingualism and being bicultural. Similarly, as Mills acknowledges, it is possible for a monolingual person '*to share in the beliefs and behaviour*' (2001:389) of more than one culture. In the main, those who speak more than one language are more likely to relate and feel part of more than one culture.

Mills' (2001) study of third generation British/Pakistani children and young people in the West Midlands, UK, explores the sense of multiple identities and the importance of heritage language maintenance for pragmatic and symbolic reasons. As with Shain's research (2003), this research uses semi-structured interviews to explore individual cases and extrapolate common threads. Unlike Shain, the participant mothers and daughters in Mills' research were from aspirant backgrounds. The mothers were involved in higher education and the fathers mainly owned small businesses.

Mills acknowledges that care must be taken when attempting to transfer findings between bilingual contexts (Mills, 2001 389), especially, as Baker emphasises, when there are distinct differences in status and power (Baker, 1988:160). However, a key commonality for the pupils interviewed in both these research projects is the experience of being bilingual and bicultural in the English monolingual and predominantly mono-cultural education system.



Although most participants in Mills' (2001) research were not fluent in Punjabi or Mirpuri or Urdu, they acknowledged the practical uses of maintaining links with family members who remain in Pakistan as well as the symbolic purpose of representing their roots and sense of affiliation with more than one country. There is also a sense of second and third generation Asian origin pupils living in a third culture, which is a distinctive blend of the two cultures experienced at home and at school.

This complex sense of multiple identities and allegiances needs recognising and developing in schools. The recognition that languages, used at home and in different contexts, *'function as emotive and emotional ties'* (Mills, 2001:400) should form a fundamental building block in the learning process.

Skutnabb-Kangas' research (1987) adds a further dimension of bi-countrial. This qualitative research involved interviewing Finnish parents and pupils who were living and being educated in Sweden. This demonstrated that with the benefits derived from maintaining Finnish in school as well as learning Swedish, the pupils were realising their parents' dreams of feeling proud of being bilingual, bi-cultural and bi-countrial (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a:572). An important element of this research was interviewing the pupils first. This established their perceived reality and aspirations before the researcher was aware of the parents' hopes for their children. However, it is still important to consider the potential researcher bias in wishing to match the two sets of evidence.

The qualitative research such as that undertaken by Burck (2005), Mills (2001), Shain (2003) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1987) could act as examples for teacher trainees in undertaking their own research with pupils in schools.

### **2.2.i.e Individual and Societal Bilingualism**

The terminology of individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism (Baker, 2006:2) is particularly pertinent to the education context in England. In England, there is no recognition of societal bilingualism as there is only one official language. However, some schools recognise and welcome individual bilingualism and perceive this within the context of group bilingualism. In these schools, languages other than English are used as tools for learning and celebrated visually in displays (Menyuk and Brisk, 2005:157-196; Ofsted, 2003).

### **2.2.i.f Definitions and policies relating to English as an additional language (EAL)**

As with bilingualism, the term EAL covers a wide spectrum of competence. The Northern Association of Support Services for Equality and Achievement (NASSEA) assessment defines EAL in seven levels ranging from early stages through to native proficiency (Kibler, 2005:24). It is significant, however, that there was no nationally agreed framework for EAL until 2000, when the Department for Education and Science produced guidelines entitled '*A language in common: Assessing English as an additional language*'. None of the schools in this research use these guidelines as their records started with the NASSEA levels, which they maintain for consistency.

Given the strong national guidelines for the curriculum (DES, 1988), it would have been logical to include a national framework for EAL at the same time. This opportunity was missed and reinforces the underlying message that this area of education is not perceived as an inclusive part of mainstream education.

The history of teaching English to pupils who speak other languages reflects this notion of being excluded from the mainstream of education in England. In the 1960s and early 1970s in Britain, the term English as a foreign language (EFL) was used for teaching



English to 'immigrants' (Derrick, 1971). An analysis of this book speaks volumes about the attitudes of the times. The term EFL was lifted from teaching English abroad and has all the connotations of colonialism. The inference was that the 'immigrants' were foreigners. The teaching took place in withdrawal units and some pupils spent up to a year in these special classes where they had no contact with the 'host' community.

By the mid-1970s the term was changed to English as a second language. With its implication of a second rating for English, this terminology was quickly replaced by the term English as an additional language. This has been the preferred term in the school sector since the 1980s as it appears to put English on an equal footing with other languages. Unlike the adult sector in education where the term is teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), the positive recognition of skills in other languages has not been overtly highlighted by the terminology used in schools. Although the term EAL may have negative connotations, as it is predominantly associated with the early stages of learning English, it is preferable to the USA terminology of Limited English Proficiency (LEP), where the notion of deficiency is openly stated (Baker, 2006:14; Kibler, 2005:21).

The terminology used in the school system in England of EAL reflects the traditional assimilationist policy in Britain where English was perceived as the '*key to cultural and social assimilation*' (Schools Council, 1967:4). This assimilationist policy through the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s viewed the pupil learning English as the 'problem'. There was a gradual shift from assimilation to integration to pluralism through the 1970s and 1980s. The Bullock Report in 1975 argued the importance of language across the curriculum and that the language of the home was a key to learning for all children.

*'No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, and the curriculum should reflect those aspects of his life.'* (Bullock, 1975:543)

The imagery in this quotation is powerful. It captures the potential division between school and home in the word threshold. The use of 'cast off' is also strong. Working in a secondary school in London when this report was published, the researcher remembers the meetings and the resistance created by this report. However, it was an important step that paved the way for the present language across the curriculum initiatives.

The Key Stage Three Strategy (DfEE, 2001; DfES, 2004-5) is one such initiative (cf 4.2.ii.c.). This strategy aims to improve teaching and learning for all pupils by reinforcing literacy, numeracy and scientific skills across the curriculum. Travers and Klein (2004) have collected examples of English, history and maths to illustrate the planning and strategies that could be used to promote language across the curriculum at Key Stage 3 and 4, with pupils aged 11-16. Thompson, who describes her work with a history department in a multilingual secondary school in challenging circumstances, quotes the head of department.

*'I used to hate doing the industrial revolution. We got bogged down in Spinning Jennies and tarmac. This new approach really engaged pupils' interest.*

*They got involved and understood the big key changes.'*

(Thompson, 2004:9)

It is this involvement and internalisation that Cummins and Sayer believe to be crucial in the empowerment of pupils advocated by transformative pedagogy (Cummins and Sayer, 1995:153).

In the same collection, Mahandru (Travers and Klein, 2004: 45-51) gives detailed examples of bilingual pupils' work in maths. This book is potentially a very useful resource for teacher trainees as it gives details from live school settings with comments both from staff and pupils. It has two main limitations. One is the emphasis on multilingual inner urban

schools that may make some trainees feel that it is irrelevant to their situation. The second is the concentration on the EAL end of the bilingual spectrum. This may well appeal to trainers and trainees as it reflects the requirements of the national Standards. However, it tends to reinforce the deficit perspective rather than celebrating the full spectrum of bilingualism. The one exception to this is Broadbent's (2004:107-116) contribution about bilingual, black and gifted pupils. This focuses on the 'Adventurous Writers' Project' and offers useful advice and checklists for making provision for gifted and talented pupils.

In the 1980s, there were two more important reports relating to the education of ethnic minorities. Once more the emphasis is on a perceived minority rather than seeing bilingualism as a facility that the majority of the world's population enjoy. Both the Rampton report (1981) and the Swann report (DES, 1985) edged the debate forward. These reports looked in detail at the experience of minority ethnic pupils in the British education system. Both reports exposed underachievement and made recommendations for changes. It is, however, salutary to note that research such as that undertaken by Gillborn and Youdell (2000) and official statistics, such as those found in the Ofsted report on raising achievement of ethnic minorities (1999) and Bhattacharyya et al. (2003), still show underachievement as a reality for most ethnic minority groups. There are, of course, individual exceptions and even group exceptions in the case of pupils from Chinese and Indian heritage. The general pattern of inequality still exists.

It is also important to note that the lack of statistics relating to language means that there may well be bilingual groups that remain unidentified and therefore are not included in these official reports.

During the 1980s and 1990s, EAL pupils were assessed according to levels designated by local education authorities. There was no attempt to centralise assessment and match it



with the prescribed national curriculum, when that came into force in 1988 (DES, 1988; cf p.25). The clear message has always been one of separation rather than integration. EAL is indeed perceived as an additional rather than integral part of the education system (Bourne, 1989).

The danger with this separation model is that it reinforces two classic conventional wisdoms, described by Candlin, (Cummins and Swain 1986:xv), as '*linguistic mismatch*' leading to '*academic retardation*' and the ensuing assumption that there is a need to give pupils maximum exposure to English (Kibler, 2005). As Candlin noted in 1986, this maximum exposure theory had been refuted by nearly all the research into bilingual programmes and in particular by the immersion programmes, such as those in Canada (Cummins, 1976).

These strong deficit models of linguistic mismatch leading to academic retardation and maximum exposure theory fit a monolingual framework with the clear emphasis on one dominant language. By ignoring the full spectrum of bilingual pupils and concentrating solely on pupils with EAL, the national Standards for initial teacher trainees in England and Wales reinforce this monolingual and deficit perspective.

## **2.2.ii Hypotheses and concepts relating to bilingualism**

This thesis focuses on the process of initial teacher training rather than an in-depth analysis of bilingual theories or hypotheses. However, it proposes that a skeleton knowledge of some of the basic ideas about how children learn more than one language would enhance the trainees' understanding and awareness of issues relating to the full spectrum of bilingual pupils.

In 1976, Cummins developed the threshold theory. This postulates that the level of proficiency in a first language influences the learning of a subsequent language. Cummins demonstrated that bilingual proficiency leads to an accelerated development of cognitive growth (Cummins, 1984:107). He later developed the interdependence theory which includes the additive bilingualism enrichment principle. This highlights that *'bilingualism is not just a societal resource, it is also an individual resource that potentially can enhance aspects of bilingual children's academic, cognitive and linguistic function.'* (Cummins, 2000:175). These findings supported the maintenance of other languages rather than the monolingual model of teaching the majority language at the cost of other languages. Cummins' research affirms the positive effects of learning more than one language on cognitive development.

Despite the concentration of research during the late 1970s and 1980s on cognitive advantage associated with bilingualism, having more than one language can still be perceived as a deficit. When faced with early bilinguals, who are not proficient in either language, negative reactions in the form of teaching the dominant language to the exclusion of the other was still a common practice up to the 1980s in England. This pragmatic approach is based on the incorrect assumption that it is easier to learn just the one language. Such assumptions are supported by research like Porter's (1990). She believed that *'the more time spent learning a language, the better you do in it, all other factors being equal'* (Porter, 1990:119). This is the kind of research that underpins the English Only debate in the USA.

Cummins also developed the concept of a *'common underlying proficiency'* (Cummins, 1984:143; Baker, 2000:72). This underlines the importance of the transfer of academic skills across languages. His image of a dual iceberg encapsulates the idea that proficiency in both languages is crucial. If this concept is appreciated in schools, then languages other

than English are supported and valued as a crucial part of the learning process. It is important for all those involved in the training process to realise that a positive approach to bilingualism affects self-image and confidence which in turn benefits the process of cognitive development.

This concept also applies to pupils who operate in sign language. The British Deaf Association in the Dictionary of British Sign Language (1992) explains that until the 1970s and 1980s sign language was not recognised as a language. This had a far-reaching effect on the image of the deaf community by changing perceptions from a disabled minority to a linguistic minority (Brien, D.1992: x; Edwards, V. 2004:132). Edwards notes that the Deaf community has grown in political awareness and confidence (2004:132), with a likely 70,000 British Sign Language users (2004:8). Recommendations from research undertaken by Sinka et al on behalf of the RNID (2002) reflect similar considerations and strategies for initial teacher trainees as those raised with early bilinguals, namely using demonstrations and practical activities, allowing pupils to see the teacher's face clearly and explaining key points (Sinka et al, 2002:110).

Deaf pupils have been included in mainstream education in England since the 1970s. Awareness of the bilingual needs of deaf signing pupils should be part of initial teacher training. As Corson demonstrates, deaf signing pupils perform better academically when signing is properly maintained (Corson, 2001:130). Since the emphasis on inclusion in mainstream classrooms with the Code of Practice on Special Educational Needs (DfES, 2001), it is imperative that initial teacher trainees address the full range of bilingual diversity that is likely to occur in any school.



Examples such as this emphasise the considerable effect language has on self image and esteem. This is pertinent to every pupil but particularly in connection with the recognition of languages and dialects other than the dominant language within the school.

There have been many detailed case studies of individual children learning a range of languages. Barron-Hauwaert (2004:198-200) cites fifty-three examples, predominantly referring to European languages, dating from 1913-2001. As well as detailing possible approaches for encouraging young children to become bilingual, such as the use of one language by one-person/parent, she also explains simultaneous and sequential bilingualism. It is important for trainees to acknowledge that some learners will have been speaking two or more languages from birth (simultaneous bilinguals), whilst others will have learned another language after their first language is well embedded (sequential bilinguals). Schools and trainees in this study were more aware of sequential bilinguals than simultaneous bilinguals.

Another consideration for teachers is how young children learn two or more languages. Until the 1980s, the common hypothesis was that bilingual children developed a single system that fused two languages together in their brain (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004:31). Leopold (1939, 1947, 1949a, 1949b) and Ronjat (1913) produced detailed studies of young children learning two languages. These became seminal case studies which indicated that there was one system for learning language which at the appropriate stage of development then split into two. This 'single system' hypothesis claimed that children in the early stages of exposure to two languages developed one lexical system and one set of syntactic rules. This hypothesis sprang from detailed observations of children mixing the two languages in the early stages of development. In 1983, Taeschner developed this hypothesis into a three-stage model that charted the gradual separation of the languages into two distinct systems.

This hypothesis was challenged by researchers in the 1990s (De Houwer, 1990; 1995; Genesee, 1989; Sinka and Schelletter, 1998). They proposed a 'separate system' hypothesis whereby children exposed regularly to two languages, *'proceed in a separate fashion for both languages'* (De Houwer, 1990:339). De Houwer claims that the Dutch/English speaking child in her study developed both languages in a very similar way to their monolingual Dutch and English peers. This theory is further supported by the research undertaken by Sinka and Schelletter (1998) with Latvian/English and German/English children respectively. Their detailed analysis confirms *'a clear differentiation in the two language systems available to the children'* (Sinka and Schelletter, 1998:324).

These studies also recorded children mixing their two languages in an attempt to communicate at a stage when they may lack enough vocabulary to fully express themselves in one linguistic code. Observations indicate that even at a young age children associate a given language with particular people, places or topics. This is pertinent to a secondary school setting, as it is important for teachers to recognise that learners may well have extended vocabulary and well established concepts in another language. Equally, bilingual pupils may well decide to keep their language other than English for their personal, social and home life. Trainees would benefit from reading some of the case studies in Barron-Hauweart's (2004) book in order to develop a clearer understanding about the range of bilingualism that they may face in the classroom.

Although the studies examining these two systems of language acquisition are based on work with children in their early years, the ensuing debate is relevant to secondary education. Those children who learn two languages simultaneously before coming to school are unlikely to be identified by schools unless a full language survey is undertaken. Without proper identification, the asset of knowing another language can go unrecognised and under-utilised in the learning process.

Of particular relevance to initial teacher trainees in meeting the national Standards relating to pupils with EAL, is Cummins' distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1984, 2000). Many pupils at secondary school level appear fluent in English as they have good basic interpersonal and communicative skills (BICS). These communicative skills allow learners to operate successfully in a social and 'context-embedded' environment where speakers can rely on non-verbal clues and instant feedback to confirm and aid understanding (Baker, 2000:78-81; Baker, 2006:174). Issues arise at secondary school level, 11-18, when the curriculum becomes more abstract and requires higher order linguistic skills of argument, persuasion and developing complex ideas. At this stage, pupils require cognitive and academic language skills (CALP) that allow them to operate in a context-reduced curriculum.

Through the detailed analysis of examination and national test results, schools in England are beginning to realise that some learners, who appear fluent in English are not meeting their potential. This has resulted in additional classes and support mechanism in schools 2 and 4 in this study. However, the need for specific support for academic and cognitive skills is not exclusive to bilingual learners. Where schools have taken the national literacy strategy seriously, there is recognition of the need to teach specific academic language for all pupils (DfES, 2004-5).

Distinctions between a content-embedded curriculum and a context-reduced one appear to have an immediate appeal to teachers but have been criticised as over simplistic and reinforcing a deficit model. Cummins (2000:1) makes it clear that he perceives theory and practice as a dialogic process. He argues that theory should act as a catalyst and stimulate an on-going search for understanding. The concepts of BICS and CALP were intended as a warning against early exit from bilingual programmes (Cummins, 2000:58). Certainly,



these concepts have proved useful for practitioners as they can see the evidence in the analysis of examination results for the need for more academic support. BICS and CALP were the only concepts related to bilingualism mentioned by name by participants in this research. This was partly as it was mentioned during the local education authority training in schools 2 and 3. However, it seemed to resonate with trainees. This may partly be because it underlines a deficit model of bilingual learners needing extra support. However, it was heartening that trainees saw the relevance for all pupils.

Teacher trainees, especially at secondary level need to be aware of the linguistic demands of the secondary curriculum. The concepts behind BICS and CALP are useful reminders to teachers of the need to explain and clarify context-reduced terms and concepts for all learners.

### **2.2.iii Attitudes to bilingualism**

Attitudes to languages vary according to the cultural environment. If languages are viewed as minority languages, they are rarely valued as much as majority languages. In addition, there is now a strong push towards valuing the perceived major global languages (Edwards, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a).

Using Ruiz's (1984) framework, which he developed for analysing language policies, of language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource, the following section examines some of the key texts that promote language diversity.

#### **2.2.iii.a Language as a resource**

Edwards (2004) argues that language is a resource in a global market. She highlights the fact that attitudes to other languages change according to the economic climate. When employment is high, migrants and their diverse language skills are more welcome than in

times of paucity (Edwards, 2004:150). This is one of several paradoxes within attitudes to languages. Edwards cites Spanish as an example of a language which in one context is regarded as a high status European language with an ever-increasing take-up of adult classes in England and the USA. However, as a heritage language, it has very low status within the USA as it is associated with poor and marginalised communities (Edwards, 2004:144). Through such examples, she raises issues of racism and the political desire to maintain the hegemony of English within the United States.

Generally, Edwards appears to be optimistic about attitudes to other languages changing for the better. She argues that globalisation is making businesses more aware of language diversity as an asset that deserves financial remuneration (Edwards, 2004:154). The news that the American government is encouraging pupils to learn Mandarin may confirm this optimism (Borger, 10.03.06:1). However, the reasons for learning 'foreign' languages stated by the White House are less positive. The rationale of improving national security, diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence communities, and only in last position, cultural understanding appears defensive.

Following calls from the Council for British Industry in Britain in August 2005, some state and public schools in England are now teaching Mandarin with similar economic reasons at the heart of their rationale. Money to support these initiatives is beginning to flow on both sides of the Atlantic but there are issues.

One issue is teacher supply, especially at university level. The shortage of suitably trained teachers reflects the limited number of languages offered on initial teacher training courses. Modern foreign languages reflect the perceived wisdom about the most important European languages. These are French, German and Spanish. Other European languages rarely feature, especially if the languages come from countries that have recently joined the

European Union or are outside the Union. School 4, in this research, had difficulty finding teachers and examinations for Albanian. Other world languages, such as Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, and Urdu are rarely taught below university level.

Another issue is the potential culture clash of differing teaching and learning styles. Traditionally in languages, such as Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, and Urdu the emphasis is on the written word rather than the communicative methodologies advocated by modern language training in Britain.

Thirdly, there is the question of whether English-speaking students can rise to the linguistic challenge of learning Mandarin, given the low take-up of modern languages in the USA and Britain and the knowledge that many young Chinese learn English to a sophisticated level.

Despite the massive impact of English and Spanish globally, the growing economic power, formerly in Japan, and now in China, has impacted on the awareness of the economic need to speak and understand local languages. However, this argument only pertains for languages that are perceived as giving economic advantage. It does not apply to the minority languages that wield little or no economic power. They are not therefore considered as a resource in market terms.

Languages, regardless of their economic value, should be viewed as a resource in schools in the hope that greater sensitivity to linguistic skills might lead to more positive attitudes in terms of using and learning languages other than English.



### 2.2.iii.b Language as a right

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a) is concerned with the fate of all languages and proposes an alternative view of linguistic human rights. Her thesis is that linguistic genocide occurs through the predominance of a few 'world' languages. She argues powerfully for the case for positively encouraging and maintaining languages. She equates the disappearance of minority languages to ecological issues. As with conservation generally, this should provide a wake-up call. Calling for the re-politicisation of language in schools, she wants to make pupils aware of issues of power and semiotics (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a:xxii). It is therefore essential that initial teacher trainees address the importance of maintaining linguistic diversity, regardless of their own subject specialism, if minority languages are to survive in schools in England. They should also be made aware of the political implications of language use. Within the present constraints of the national Standards, this seems unlikely to happen.

Language as a right appears in some international policies, for example, United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), 1994 declared that linguistic rights should be sacrosanct (UN Doc.CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5, 1994).

*'In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right...to use their own language.'*

(Garcia, 2005:84-85).

Although this protects the right, it does not promote the right. A similar weak form of right appears in national policies. For example, the directive from the European Communities (EC) (1977) encouraged member countries to view the teaching of their '*mother tongue*' as a right for children of migrant workers. As the EC report (1984) revealed Britain was slow to take action on this directive. This was further confirmed in Broadbent's survey (1987). The lack of response underlines, yet again, the monolingual prevalence in England. The

attitudes to teaching 'mother tongue' languages are examined below as an example of the underlying messages within schools and initial teacher training.

The EC directive may be seen as pursuing language as a right but the wording and underlying intentions could arguably be reinforcing the problem scenario. The emphasis is firmly on migrant workers rather than the whole spectrum of bilingual pupils. The suspicion at the time was that this initiative was designed to facilitate the repatriation of migrant families when they were no longer needed by the 'host' communities. The language of 'host' and 'mother tongue' speaks volumes. The idea of a 'host' community reflects colonial attitudes with migrant workers seen as subservient. The term 'mother tongue' reflects gender bias and places the role of language firmly within the home. The proposed programmes were very much on a maintenance model rather than being seen as a resource for developing learning in general.

The limited initiatives in England often reflected the separatist model that the Swann report (1985) warned of as a potential problem. Bourne shows how even the Linguistic Minorities Project, set up in 1985 as a response to the directive, was based on the premise of disadvantage rather than full discussions about bilingual education, alternative typologies, or any theories relating to bilingualism (Bourne, 1989:9).

Excuses were made at this time that the decentralised system of Local Education Authority (LEA) control meant that a centralised approach to 'mother tongue' teaching was inappropriate. However, the centralised nature of the national curriculum, which was a central plank of the Education Reform Act (ERA) (1988), did not seize the opportunity to place linguistic diversity at the heart of the curriculum. Rather, the national curriculum emphasised the monolingual and mono-cultural perspectives already in place. In this way, it provides a context that constrains pupils' language experiences rather than enriching their

language diversity in order to expand the use of language as an effective intellectual tool (Vygotsky, 1962; Van der Veer and Valsiner, 1994).

The alternative would be to provide a multilingual structure. Zuba and Doll (2002; 29-46), through their work in multilingual schools in the United States of America, demonstrate the importance of the school context and social structure in terms of valuing and using pupils' linguistic diversity. If bilingual pupils are to attain social justice within the education system, there is a need to preserve the complexity of students' language patterns and extend opportunities to use their language actively in intellectually constructive ways (Zuba and Doll, 2002:32). Cummins argues that this can be best achieved through transformative pedagogy that encourages a dialogic approach to teaching and learning and promotes a critical literacy (Cummins, 2000: 246-283).

The key to transformative pedagogy is fostering collaborative relations within the classroom that allow for a balance of power. It is important in transformative pedagogy that learners can relate the curriculum to their own experiences. This is one of the reasons why it is an appropriate methodology for bilingual pupils. However, it takes confidence for teachers to release control and encourage real debate in the classroom. It may not therefore be a feasible model for initial teacher trainees. However, the checklists Cummins (2000:262-266) refers to and the framework for academic language learning (2000:274) could provide useful pointers for initial teacher trainees.

Rather than promoting a dynamic interactive form of pedagogy, a monolingual framework tends to require bilingual pupils to adjust their linguistic identity and repertoire in order to fit in with school requirements. This is the social price paid by many pupils, as Fryer (2006) highlights. Fryer's research with high attaining bilingual pupils shows that they



sublimate their cultural and linguistic identity in favour of English in order to succeed within the monolingual system.

This is confirmed by Shain's (2003) analysis (cf 2.2.c.). Of the forty-four teenage girls interviewed, three of the four groups are successful in school. None of these groups use their home languages in school, other than to help another pupil. Twelve are described as survivors. These girls fulfil the shy, '*good workers*' stereotype of Asian girls (Shain, 2003: 77). They do not use their home language in school as it may offend others. '*I don't use it [Punjabi] too often because English girls take offence*' (Shain, 2003:83). Likewise, the Rebels described in this research, consider it impolite to use their home language in school. They prioritise integration into Western society. '*You sound daft [speaking Punjabi in school] because it's an English school*' (Shain, 2003:97). Only the Gang girls use their home languages as an exclusion mechanism and a means of protecting their own identity in a racist environment. For many complex reasons, these girls tended to reject education.

The English education system is in peril of losing the bilingual potential of many of its pupils unless it starts emphasising people's right to use other languages rather than pursuing a pragmatic approach of emphasising English at the expense of other languages. Trainee teachers need to be aware of this potential loss and the role that they could play in helping to maintain and value pupils' linguistic heritages.

### **2.2.iii.c Language as a problem**

Romaine (2000:205-233) tackles the issues of linguistic problems as societal problems. Schools in England are based on a white middle-class norm in terms of language use. This was reinforced by the National Curriculum when Standard English was emphasised in the Cox report (DES, 1989a). Subsequent policies, such as the Literacy Strategy implemented in primary schools from the mid-1990s and the Key Stage 3 Strategy initiated in 2004-2005

continue to stress Standard English as the medium for high achievement. There are token gestures towards acknowledging other forms of English in terms of dialect and writing in English from around the world within the English curriculum. However, the main thrust for all subject specialist teachers is that of achieving a high standard of Standard English.

With these norms, pupils who come from different cultural, class, or linguistic backgrounds are more likely to fail. Statistics backing this statement are revealed and discussed in Bhattacharyya et al (2003) and Gillborn and Youdell (2000) for Britain. Cummins, twenty years ago, offers figures and explanations for underachievement in the USA and Canada (1984: 93-127). Seminal works, such as Coard's *'How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System'* (1971), illustrate that this is not a new phenomenon in Britain. The system continues to undermine any notion of equity in terms of language use other than Standard English.

Romaine discusses this notion in terms of the '*deficit*' theory of language that was prevalent in the 1950s (2000:213). This distinguished between an elaborated and restricted code, such as Bernstein proposed (Corson, 2001:72). Programmes, such as Headstart in the USA were created to help pupils acquire a more elaborated code from an early age. This theory clearly saw languages and dialects other than Standard English as a problem or barrier that was stopping children succeeding at school. Subsequent studies have revealed complexity and structural regularities in other modes of speaking and other languages. Labov (1972) did much ground-breaking research into creoles and Ebonics in the USA in the 1970s, as did Romaine on pidgeon and creole languages in New Guinea in the 1980s (Romaine, 1989). These detailed explorations of language use and structure help validate the respect that should be rendered to all languages and linguistic forms.

### 2.2.v Benefits of bilingualism

Burck's research (2005) examines the constructions of self with twenty-four individuals living in Britain who are bilingual or multi-lingual. Her interviews with twelve females and twelve males between the ages of nineteen and fifty-eight revealed that all, bar one, felt that it was advantageous to be bilingual. Half had been brought up in a multilingual environment and half had moved to live in a different language or cultural setting during adolescence or adulthood (Burck, 2005:37). As with Mills (2001) and Shain (2003), Burck uses a qualitative methodology involving semi-structured interviews.

This methodology allowed her to explore idiosyncratic issues raised and allowed opportunities to elicit multiple and sometimes contradictory perspectives that a structured interview may have precluded (Burck, 2005:35). She is overt about her research paradigm that views language as '*constitutive and performative*' and her approach which is influenced by social constructivism (Burck, 2005:3). Her interviewing technique was influenced by her work as a systemic psychotherapist. This experience allows her to delve below the surface of the initial comments and responses.

Participants were volunteers who applied through word-of-mouth and a snowballing method. Burck acknowledges the bias that may ensue through this process of selection. Her claims that the participants appreciated the opportunity to talk about their bilingualism must be seen in this light.

Burck is also transparent about the influence of her personal contexts as a researcher (Burck, 2005:159-161). Her own multilingualism contributed to her choice of questions. She acknowledges that her own awareness of the negativity that is still associated with bilingualism led her to pursue certain lines of questioning (Burck, 2005:162). This may



have encouraged participants to recall negative experiences more readily than if questions had been posed differently.

As a psychotherapist, she was highly attuned to the need to establish a rapport during the interview process and consider the emotional impact on participants. She therefore acknowledges leaving difficult or sensitive areas until last. This confirms the need for semi-structured interviews rather than highly structured ones when dealing with potentially emotive issues.

As with this present research, Burck (2005) recognises that the size and nature of the sampling make it impossible to generalise from the research. However, through the adoption of a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; cf 3.1.i), the insights into individual experiences and understandings allow the researcher to establish common threads and constructions of meaning. Grounded theory is useful in this field where there is a need to generate theory about processes and analyse social worlds. A grounded theory approach requires researchers to constantly revisit the data and to employ self-reflexivity rather than relying on prior hypotheses and theories. An area such as this exploration of personal experiences of multilingualism is well suited to grounded theory as this approach allows the researcher to adapt questions in the light of on-going data analysis. This process helps identify and construct categories and concepts that may not have originally been considered by the researcher or previous theories.

Although Burck's (2005) study includes only twenty-four participants, the findings are pertinent to initial teacher training as it provides insights into bilinguals' experiences and understandings. It highlights the advantages of bilingualism as well as conveying some of the negative experiences. Her research confirms that in supportive environments

bilingualism can promote mental flexibility, divergent thinking and encourage creativity (Burck, 2005:170).

For trainees, who have no first-hand experience of bilingualism, books such as this, and Shain's (2003) account of the experiences of Asian girls in a secondary school, provide contemporary views from bilinguals that may challenge trainees' attitudes and help them develop their knowledge and understanding.

A prime factor noted by participants in Burck's research (2005) is that the certainty within a monolingual perspective is challenged through the other language. This element of seeing alternatives could prove a fascinating resource in the learning process. The challenge is how to elicit this difference of opinion within the school context. As Burck discovered, participants were keen to discuss the effects of this linguistic diversity in their lives as *'on the whole, it is neglected and ignored in Britain'* (Burck, 2005:37).

Combating this neglect and ignorance would require schools and the training process to move beyond language surveys, such as those undertaken in three out of the four schools in this current research. Schools would need to collect more in-depth details about the use of other languages and levels of skills in each language. Such discussions do not fit neatly into the national curriculum, although they could form part of the speaking element in English. They could, however, fit into 'Citizenship' as part of the personal, social and health education and citizenship programme.

Importantly to the secondary education setting, Burck's research suggests that the experience of being bilingual produced *'a feeling of being a citizen of the world, because you can't take a position of knowing'* (Burck, 2005:113). This ambivalence could

constitute an important element of the learning process but it needs articulating and recognising as an asset.

The participants in Burck's research (2005) felt able to make use of their difference by presenting alternative aspects of their identities according to the context. This takes confidence and an awareness of the benefits of being bilingual and bi-cultural. Given such confidence, this could be used positively in terms of gaining employment (Burck, 2005:113). If young bilingual people are not helped to this positive stance, the disadvantage of feeling different may lead to alienation and isolation.

If the potential advantages of bilingualism are ignored within the education system, bilinguals may suppress other languages and assimilate into the monolingual framework as intended. This represents a waste of potential. Alternatively, the sense of alienation may lead to rebellion. These possible political outcomes need addressing seriously during initial teacher training.

Trainees also need to be aware of the advantages of bilingualism when addressing higher order language skills required for the formulation of arguments and opinions. Educational bilingual advantages of concept formation, classification, creativity, analogue reasoning and visual-spatial skills are confirmed by the research undertaken by Diaz and Klinger (1996:167). These are features of higher order language skills that are particularly pertinent to the secondary age range.

Similarly, Wong Fillmore highlights the advantages that older learners have if they acquire another language based on well developed skills in the first language (Wong Fillmore, 1996:62). She emphasises that the structure of classroom activities is crucial to success in valuing and using more than one language in the educational setting. This is particularly



relevant to secondary pupils who are newly arrived and are at the beginning stages of learning English. Trainees need to learn to use previous literacy skills and acknowledge learning in curriculum areas that pupils have undertaken in other languages. It is important to acknowledge pupils' previous social, linguistic and cognitive development (Wong Fillmore, 1996:56).

If teacher trainees are to recognise and value the benefits of bilingualism in the secondary classroom, they need to concentrate on linguistic processes rather than concentrating on linguistic products (Bialystok, 1996:6).

#### **2.2.v Policy relating to bilingualism and initial teacher training in England**

Internationally, there are different policies and practices relating to bilingualism in schools (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993; Coulmas, 1991; Kibler, 2005; Nicholas, 1994). These range from deliberate bilingual education employing at least two languages as the medium for instruction through to a majority language only policy. The methods employed to deliver the policy also range from immersion to submersion.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) describes immersion as '*where majority children with high status mother tongue voluntarily choose to be instructed in the medium of a foreign/minority language*'. Immersion is particularly associated with the Canadian programme of teaching French to pupils who came from an English language background. The emphasis here is teaching a second language to the majority population. Pupils were therefore secure in their knowledge of their first language, which was perceived as high status. There was no question of pupils losing the facility of their first language during the immersion programme. Freeman's research (1998) at Oyster School confirmed the positive outcomes of the immersion programme.

The other crucial factor with the Canadian programmes was that the pupils were predominantly middle-class and they or their parents had chosen to take part in the programme (Cummins, 1984:152-179; Edwards, J. 1995: 196; Edwards, V. 2004: 138). This differed considerably from the less successful immersion programmes in the United States where the pupils were from minority ethnic groups. Here, the teaching of the dominant language, English, was designed to submerge the home languages of the pupils (Romaine, 2000:230).

Submersion implies the gradual undermining or suppression of the first language in the pursuit of the dominant majority language (Romaine, 2000: 231; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). This was a common model in Britain from the 1950s to the 1970s. The lack of provision for bilingual education means that this model persists in England in the majority of secondary schools, where minority children, whose first languages are perceived as low status, are obliged to learn through the medium of English.

Kibler (2005) undertook a comparative study between the educational policies relating to minority language pupils in the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA). She uses a comparative methodology of description, interpretation, juxtaposition and comparison (Kibler, 2005:31). In common with this thesis, she employs the research strategy of multiple-site case study. This involves observation and semi-structured interviews in one primary school in England and one in Texas in addition to an analysis of policy documents. She acknowledges the issue of generalisation raised by Bassey (1999; 2003). It is especially difficult to generalise from an individual sample from each country, in particular given the nature of the power allocated to individual states in the USA.

However, Kibler's research (2005) offers a comparative dimension missing in the research of Burck (2005), Mills (2001) and Shain (2003) and proved interesting reading as a means

of broadening the scope of this present research. She confirms that language policies, in the UK and the USA, are not built upon research findings but rather political expediency (2005:7). The policies in the UK view bilingualism from a subtractive rather than an additive perspective. Although the rhetoric occasionally recognises languages other than English as a resource, the practice is firmly based in the subtractive and submersion models described above.

Kibler concludes that both the UK and the USA policies regard English language acquisition as the most important outcome of the education system (Kibler, 2005:69). This conclusion further confirms Nicholas' analysis based on useful summary of responses to language diversity in British Education (Nicholas, 1994:3). Little appears to have changed in the ensuing decade.

This deficit concept of maximum exposure to English is firmly embedded in the initial teacher training system with national Standards that ignore the full spectrum of bilingualism and concentrate on the needs of pupils with EAL. The community rather than the state education system is considered responsible for maintaining languages other than English.

It is salutary to note that little has changed since 1991, when Stubbs analysed educational language planning in England and Wales. He pessimistically concluded that basic attitudes to language diversity in Britain remain unchanged. He records that

*'Britain is often recognised as a country with  
profoundly monolingual assumptions and a wide  
spread apathy towards learning other languages.'*

(Stubbs, 1991:215)



The two '*bright spots*' that he notes are that modern foreign languages will be compulsory for all secondary school pupils and that language studies will be a compulsory component within the English curriculum (Stubbs, 1991). These two components are now diminished.

Stubbs (1991:218) argues that Britain is at the far end of the implicit language planning end of a continuum. Without explicit language planning, it is impossible to monitor language rights of different groups. Stubbs also notes that one of the outcomes of the hidden nature of the planning is that '*bilingual children do not anywhere get credit for their knowledge of two (or more) languages*' (Stubbs, 1991:229). Through analysis of reports and documents relating to the establishment of the national curriculum in England and Wales (DES, 1998), he detects the underlying myth that monolingualism is the norm and is essential for a healthy nation state.

The lack of overt language policy also means that there is no explicit training for linguistic diversity. Unlike the United States of America, England does not offer a specific qualification for teachers to work with bilingual pupils or pupils with English as an additional language. The suggestion of a possible area of special interest in the proposed national Standards for initial teacher training in England from 2007 (DfES, 2006; [www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk); cf Appendix Two) may help bridge the present gap. The USA policy of offering specific training has an effect on the status and credibility of specialist teachers and on the perceptions of trainers and trainees (Kibler, 2005:72). However, it also emphasises the notion of issues relating to bilingualism being a specialist and separate area rather than an integral part of the entire education policy and practice.

Without specific training, EAL specialists rely on personal experiences and tend to '*drift*' into this work (EAL co-ordinator, School 4). This is an important signifier in terms of the importance placed on work with EAL pupils. When the funding for work with EAL pupils

was centrally provided, there was training through the local education authorities on a much wider scale than is generally provided now that the funding for EAL is school-based.

Within an initial teacher training programme, it is important for trainees to have the opportunities to explore the broader context of language other than the dominant monolingual model offered in the English education system and the national Standards. As argued in Chapter One, the monolingual framework (cf Figure 1.1) views linguistic diversity as a problem rather than a resource and a right (Ruiz, 1984). As in the 1970s model of teacher education (cf 2.3.i.), trainees should be encouraged to explore the benefits of bilingualism from the fields of anthropology and linguistics in order to consider an alternative multilingual framework such as that offered in Figure 1.2.

Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000a:6) research truly draws on a global perspective. Her extended experience of research in the field of bilingualism throughout the world shines through. Her premise is built on a passionate argument for the conservation of linguistic diversity, seeing it on a par with ecological diversity. She quotes Fishman (1998: 414-415) as stating that schools cannot single-handedly make languages survive, but they can very quickly kill off languages. This is a key consideration when examining the inclusion or exclusion of bilingualism in initial teacher training. If trainees do not understand the implications of language diversity, they are unlikely to expand their knowledge and awareness beyond the minimal competence related to supporting pupils with English as an additional language required by the Standards (TTA, 2002; Appendix Two).

Another government policy that further devalues other languages is the present policy in England that allows pupils to stop learning a modern foreign language at the age of fourteen. This demonstrates the strong monolingual perspective prevalent in decision-making for England and Wales.

Ward's article in the Times Education Supplement (Ward, 25.07.05) records the realities of such a policy. Reporting on a slump in modern foreign language take-up in secondary schools, it is ironically entitled '*Little England expects....everyone to speak English*'. A survey conducted by the Association for Language Learning reports a strong decline in language study since the decision to allow 14 year olds to discontinue a foreign language.

*'Some children in England are studying languages for  
as little as a month of their school life.'*

(Ward, 25.07.05)

Although there may be bias in the survey, given the association's remit, the government is clearly anticipating a downturn in demand. The impact of this legislation is forecast by the Teacher Development Agency's announcement that from 2007, modern foreign languages will no longer have the status of a shortage subject. This means that extra funding for modern foreign language teachers will cease, marking a significant change in policy. The impact of this change in policy is already obvious in schools where language departments are being reduced in size.

This downturn has happened despite the establishment of language colleges that were intended to raise standards of achievement. Edwards (2004:140) reports that 141 specialist colleges were providing hope that attitudes towards language teaching had undergone positive change. However, in 2006, such optimism seems misplaced. It will be interesting to follow the plight of these specialist colleges in the light of the recent proposals for academies. If they were established opportunistically in order to obtain funding, then they may well disappear in the light of recent legislation. If such specialist colleges are maintained then they would prove rich seams for further research on the impact of modern foreign languages on attitudes to linguistic diversity and bilingualism.



The above examples illustrate what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000b) terms '*monolingual reductionism*'. Against this, she argues strongly for a '*healthy multilingualism*' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b:40-42). She proposes an '*ecology of languages*' paradigm to counteract the '*diffuse English*' paradigm (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000b:40-42). Present policies in England fit firmly into the '*diffuse English*' paradigm with its emphasis on monolingualism.

Baker and Prys-Jones (1998:116) suggest that '*bilingualism is one enabler of multiple identities.*' This should be viewed as a positive attribute that teachers ought to appreciate, celebrate and develop. If education is to go beyond the closed and directed strictures of league tables and the national curriculum, teacher trainees and pupils need opportunities to explore alternative views and identities.

However, politically, such explorations can be viewed as a threat, challenging the concept of nationalism that is strongly related to one language. Such nationalistic attitudes can lead to movements to eliminate or ignore other languages. This is evident historically in Britain with the deliberate extinction of Celtic and Gallic languages in Ireland, Scotland and Wales and Cornish and Manx Gaelic in England (Edwards, V., 2004; Edwards, J. 1995; Romaine, 1994).

Internationally, a stark current example of a similar attempt at extinction is Proposition 227 approved by Californian voters in 1998 and followed up in Arizona in 2000, where the English only lobby in the USA felt victorious in establishing the prominence of English over Spanish (Edwards, J., 1994:166-170; Edwards, V. 2004:119; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a:204). These examples act as strong reminders that languages are a fragile part of a complete eco-system and extinction of languages comes at a cost (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a).

A further consideration for initial teacher trainees is the effect of language on an individual's worldview. Sapir and Whorf claimed in 1930, that language influences the way an individual or a group thinks (Edwards, 1995:92). Languages represent different ways of thinking and provide pupils with opportunities for understanding alternative world views and should be valued in schools. In political terms such diversity may pose a threat. In educational terms, it should be welcomed as a broadening of learning horizons.

If education is preparing future citizens, then there is an urgent need to consider linguistic diversity as part of a global society. Initial teacher trainees need to appreciate that bilingualism is part of pupils' cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998) and offers the potential for flexibility and alternative ways of viewing the world (Baker and Hornberger, 2001:33, 47; Baker, 2004; Corson, 2001:112; Cummins, 2000; Romaine 1989). The idea of language as a social construct that contributes to the development of an individual's view of the world is an important concept in education. As Bourdieu articulates,

*'Every socialised agent thus possesses, in their incorporated state, the instruments of an ordering of the world, a system of classifying schemes which organise all practices, and of which the linguistic schemes... are only one aspect.'*

(Bourdieu, 1998:123-124)

It is important for trainers and trainees to constantly be reminded that there are legitimate alternative viewpoints to the traditional monolingual perspective and that pupils may operate in more than one social, cultural and linguistic system.

## **2.3 Initial Teacher Training in England**

Initial teacher training varies in the four countries that constitute the United Kingdom. Scotland and Ireland have their own Standards and procedures. Wales has the possibility of a qualification in Welsh (Williams, 2005). This study concentrates on secondary initial teacher training in England, as detailed in Chapter 3. Without the influence of local Celtic or Gallic languages, which are, to varying degrees, being revived in the other three countries, England remains solidly monolingual in its policy-making (Stubbs, 1991; Kibler, 2005).

### **2.3.i National policy in relation to initial teacher training**

The following analysis considers the impact of the key education policies and developments on the present national Standards for initial teacher training (TTA, 2002). Proposals for a new Standards framework were set out in a consultation document on 24<sup>th</sup> May 2006 (DfES, 2006; [www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk); cf Appendix Two). The implications of proposed changes to professional standards for teachers that are to be implemented from September 2007 will also be discussed.

Policy for initial teacher training in England and Wales has changed considerably over the past forty years. Traditionally, initial teacher training took place in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Placements in schools were assessed exclusively by tutors from the Higher Education Institutions with practising teachers undertaking a supervisory role.

Prior to 1970, it was possible to teach in secondary schools without a first degree by achieving a Teacher's Certificate from Teachers' Training College. In the 1960s, the nomenclature changed to a Certificate in Education from a College of Education. This was significant in terms of teacher status and a first move towards a more academic approach to becoming a teacher. Teacher education at this time was based on psychology, sociology,



philosophy and history of education, plus a specialist main and subsidiary subject at secondary level (Hoyle and Johns, 1995:52). These four areas of study contrast strongly with the four areas of English, maths, science and Information and Communication Technology specified in addition to the specialist subject in initial teacher training in the twenty first century (Phillips and Furlong, 2001:131).

This shift demonstrates the changes in the initial teacher training process from one where the aim was to produce '*cultivated men and women*' (Furlong et al. 1988:5), who could take on the professional responsibility of designing a suitable curriculum, to one that is perceived as practical and relevant to nationally set criteria. The previous emphasis was on the education of the student teacher rather than on teaching methods (Furlong et al. 1988:5). Now the emphasis is on the trainee imbibing the national requirements for curriculum delivery. Since the advent of the national curriculum, professional autonomy, in the sense of teachers controlling the curriculum, has all but disappeared (Bottery and Wright, 2003; Tickle, 2000). Trainees in the present initial teacher training system have grown up with the concept of a national curriculum and now take it for granted. The danger is that the underlying implicit messages of monolingualism and assimilation will be generally accepted without question. This point was articulated in the report on the regional conferences organised by the Training and Development Agency for schools in the Autumn 2005 and Spring 2006 (TDA, 2006b).

Following the recommendations contained in the Robbins Report into Higher Education in 1963, teaching became a degree-based profession by the early 1970s, with two main routes: the Bachelor of Education degree or the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:7). The emphasis on academic input continued to fuel the subsequent debate about the gap between theory and practice (Tickle, 1987).

In the 1960s and 70s, the prevailing culture of teacher education was based on a professional discourse that encouraged a creative and autonomous approach to teaching (Hargreaves, 1988). The Higher Education Institutions had control over teacher education, just as schools had control over the curriculum and teaching and learning styles. Teacher educators were the '*gatekeepers of the profession*' (Hoyle and John, 1995:143). However, the creative and autonomous approach praised by Hargreaves (1988) and Tickle (2000) was perceived as lacking in focus by some politicians. Autonomy was a potential challenge to the accountability and quantifiable measures demanded by a market-style approach to education. The teaching profession was attacked, by politicians and the press, for cultivating and defending '*a secret garden*' (Bottery and Wright, 2000; Furlong et al, 2000). During the 1980s and 1990s, the process of teaching therefore became more accountable to central government.

The shift in the 1970s to a degree-based profession brought about a suspicion that teacher training had become a theory-based experience which inadequately prepared trainees for the realities of the classroom (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:8). As early as 1972, the James Report demanded a '*more rationally explicit connection between academic knowledge and practical teaching skills*'. This tension between theory and practice is fundamental to the establishment of the national Standards that apply at present. It was perceived at the time as Tickle records that '*the practice-theory gap is both wide and deep*' (Tickle, 1987:2).

Partly in response to these accusations, during the 1980s, research on initial teacher training at Oxford University conducted by Judge (1980) and McIntyre (1980; 1988) raised the issue of theory informing practice. The Oxford Internship model (Benton, 1990; McIntyre, 1997) was based on research into teacher knowledge and was one of the first predominantly school-based schemes to be put in place in the late 1980s. It was also a precursor for the partnership model between schools and HEIs discussed below.

The research was undertaken by 'insiders' as Benton, Judge, and McIntyre were employed within the education department at Oxford University. However, care was taken to validate findings with outside bodies, such as the local education authority and other universities, including Leicester University, which was involved in a similar project. The involvement of the partner schools also allowed triangulation of data and gave a firm practice base to the research.

In the 1990s at the advent of partnership, some staff at the HEIs felt protective of their roles as key trainers. They feared loss of control, status and even their jobs (Furlong, 2000). During this period, school staff felt under pressure from central initiatives, such as the national curriculum (DES, 1988; Hoyle and John, 1995). They viewed the prospect of becoming major providers of initial teacher training as another external imposition. Even those who saw the potential found it difficult to prioritise the time for in-depth discussion and development (Furlong et al, 2000).

During the 1990s, there was an increasingly interventionist stance taken by successive governments. Centralised control of the curriculum (DES, 1988) and initial teacher training (TTA, 1998) meant a significant shift in the control and management of the role and professional development of teachers as explored by Harris and Shelton Mayes (1997:285). They demonstrate how the Open University PGCE uses open and distance learning methodology to further the links between the Higher Education Institution and partner schools. At the time of writing, partnerships between schools and HEIs were in their infancy. However, they recognise such partnerships as the way forward for both initial teacher training and continuing professional development. The significant shift is from a *'propositional knowledge and theoretical content, regardless of whether such knowledge was ever used in practice'* (Harris and Shelton-Mayes, 1997:296) to a re-



definition where theory can not be separated from practice. They therefore recognise the vital role of schools in the preparation of new teachers.

A report by HMI in 1991 established the virtues of school-based training and contributed to the debate about agreed Standards. The ensuing legislation (DfE, 1992) marked a radical change in the emphasis on initial teacher training from Higher Education Institution-based training to school-based training. In 1989, the articulated teacher and licensed teacher<sup>4</sup> schemes (DES, 1989b; Struthers, 1997:299-314) allowed schools to train unqualified staff, whilst working in the school. The diversity of routes into education contributed to the debate for standardisation in criteria for teacher training as Moon and Shelton-Mayes analyse (Kerry and Shelton Mayes, 1995:233). The market-based ideology had created an educational climate that was right for the introduction of competences (TTA, 1998). The concept of competences subsequently led to the establishment of national Standards (TTA, 2000).

### **2.3. ii National Standards**

The debate about national Standards is not exclusive to England and Wales. Many countries have now developed similar criteria. Sachs (2003) compares the Australian teaching Standards to those in the USA and the UK. Whereas the USA Standards were developed with teachers, this did not happen in Australia (NSWDET, 1998) or in England and Wales.

Wragg (2005:130) queries the optimism of the competency movement in the USA in the 1970s when Dodl (1973) compiled a list of 1,276 competencies to describe the teaching process. The list included hierarchies of skills from the mundane to overarching

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<sup>4</sup> These schemes were intended to give schools more power to appoint unqualified instructors in shortage subjects. As Struthers explains, if over 24 and qualified with two years higher education or the equivalent, and with GCSE maths and English, instructors could apply, after two years training, for qualified teacher status (Struthers, 1997:299)

managerial skills. This long list makes the present forty-two Standards required to reach qualified secondary teacher status in England look reasonable, despite the feeling among some participants in this research that there are too many Standards to allow any in-depth coverage in one year. The number of Standards at secondary level compare favourably with the primary age range where trainees have to meet Standards in all the core subjects of English, information technology, mathematics and science in addition to their specialist subject (TTA, 2003).

In Scotland, there was a strong consultation process that helped inform the development of the Standards. Kirk (2000) identifies this as a crucial difference in the systems between England and Scotland. He argues that the competences identified by the Scottish system require teachers to push beyond minimum skills. He suggests that the competences in Scotland demand '*judgement, ...knowledge and reflection, rather than specific routinised moves that might be applied in a mechanistic and unthinking way*' (Kirk, 2000:22). He contrasts the shared agenda, transparency and the strong involvement of practising teachers and teacher educators in higher education with what some Scottish commentators see as a '*repressive*' regime in England (Kirk, 2000:21). With the use of this emotive term, he displays his bias towards the Scottish system. However, his claim that competences do not have to be prescriptive but can reflect the diversity and versatility required in the teaching process is valid and seems to be reflected in the new proposals for professional standards for teachers proposed for England and Wales (DfES, 2006).

As Professor in the Faculty of Education in The University of Edinburgh, Kirk clearly wants to demonstrate that there is a strong system in place that can respond positively to challenges (Kirk, 2000: 77). He refutes opponents to the competence model and conveys an overall picture of optimism. This positive approach to the Standards was echoed by the director of the PGCE in HEI 2 in this research.



*'I don't have a problem with the notion of competence.*

*I think that it's really good to have a minimal competence.'*

(Director, HEI 2, 1. 57-59)

Apple (2005), on the other hand, views the imposition of Standards as a conservative activity designed to reinforce the status quo with its attendant inequalities. He offers a clear analysis of the impact of the metaphors related to the market and business on the field of education. He perceives structures, such as the Standards, as part of the growing *'professional ideologies of control, measurement and efficiency'* (Apple, 2005:286). Although his research is based mainly in the United States of America, the overall warning that it is important to interpret national educational policy at a local level in order to reflect differences and diversity is pertinent in Britain.

Edwards et al confirm his concern that Standards are designed to help consumers distinguish between providers in a quasi-market ideology (Edwards et al., 2002:21). They argue that in times of great uncertainty and constant change within the education system and society as a whole, it is important for educators to work collaboratively on the positive interpretations of educational guidelines (Edwards et al., 2002:8).

Sachs' analysis (2003) in Australia reveals that the Standards there are predominantly concerned with procedures rather than knowledge building as in the USA and UK. She proposes three rationales for establishing Standards.

One is a 'common sense' approach that provides a regulatory framework (Sachs, 2003). This represents a pragmatic approach. However, the issue here is whether such a framework undermines teachers' autonomy and professionalism. Bottery and Wright (2003:15) demonstrate how educational legislation brought about a re-conceptualisation of



professional practice along business lines which favoured such regulatory frameworks. At a common sense, pragmatic, level, it could be argued that the national Standards (TTA, 2002) ensure that all trainees have considered the needs of EAL pupils. It would be possible to expand this to all bilingual pupils. However, in practice, the pressures of time and lack of experience and understanding make it unlikely that this will happen.

A second rationale is that of quality assurance with standards designed to improve teachers' status in the eyes of parents and other professionals (Sachs, 2003). This again fits within the market-led metaphor. The central government of New Labour introduced the notion of parents as stakeholders in the late 1990s. National Standards for initial teacher training were introduced as part of a strategy aimed at demystifying the teaching profession and as a means of encouraging transparency. The challenge is to provide a stimulating framework that encourages trainees to go beyond the minimum requirements. In terms of this research that would encourage trainees to look beyond the pupils with EAL, specified in the Standards, to the whole spectrum of bilingual pupils.

There are, then, divided opinions about the efficacy of a competence model. Whitty defends the idea of competences as having positive scope for make teaching accessible (Kerry and Shelton-Mayes, 1995:235). Pring (2000), on the other hand, decries the competence model as it fails to encompass the broad vision of education. He argues that the reductionist approach risks losing sight of the complexity involved in the teaching and learning process (Kerry and Shelton Mayes, 1995:199). Competences and standards may be seen as reducing the teacher training process to a specific set of pre-defined steps. Critical constructivists would argue that *'in teaching and thinking, the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts'* (Kincheloe, 1993:115). This suggests that it is not possible to define a complex activity, such as the teaching and learning process, in terms of individual competences.

The British government argues that the national Standards act as a quality assurance framework. They are '*outcome statements that indicate what trainee teachers should know, understand and be able to do in order to achieve QTS [Qualified Teacher Status]*' (TTA, 2003:5). However, this offers no reassurance for parents of bilingual pupils. Bilingual pupils, who are competent in English, are not designated as pupils with English as an additional language. They do not therefore feature in the Standards. The omission of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils implies that bilingualism is not recognised as a factor in learning to teach or in the process of learning. This omission is maintained in the consultative proposals for the new Standards from 2007 (DfES, 2006).

Thirdly, there is the argument that Standards are part of the process for improving quality (Sachs, 2003). They should play an on-going role in continuing professional development. In Australia, the Standards are used as a basis for professional development throughout a teacher's career.

In the present requirements for initial teacher training, the Standards are only used as a framework in the first year of teaching (TTA, 2002). This does ensure a limited link with professional development beyond initial teacher training. If the consultative framework for professional Standards comes into operation from September 2007, this situation may improve as the Standards are designed to '*provide the framework for a teacher's career*' (DfES, 2006). Such links are particularly important for the Standards relating to EAL pupils, which, as this research demonstrates, are heavily reliant on the school context. Without further consideration in continuing professional development, there is a danger that some trainees will have a very superficial understanding of the issues related to EAL pupils and even less awareness of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils, who are not explicitly mentioned in the Standards.



In the initial stages of proposals for competence based assessment for initial teacher training in secondary schools in England and Wales, as set out in circular 9/92 (DfE 1992), there was resistance to the idea of behaviourist approaches being used for teaching. The fear was that there would be an over emphasis on skills and techniques that ignored the whole process involved in teaching (Furlong et al 2000:108). At this point, it was possible to devise competences that encouraged a more reflective practice, as HEI 2 had already done. The circular stated that the list of competences did not '*constitute a complete curriculum for teacher education*' (DfE, 1992).

However, the Review Circular 4:98 proposed a framework of Standards for initial teacher training in England and Wales (DfEE, 1998). The competences were adapted to become national Standards and constituted a more comprehensive coverage of the curriculum for initial teacher training. This expansion raised concerns about the further overload on teachers that might lead to a reduction in innovations and quality of training (Brookes, 2000; Tickle, 2000). These Standards were further expanded in 2002 to include new Standards, such as those relating to pupils with EAL (cf Appendix Two; TTA, 2002).

The forty-two Standards for secondary school teachers cover three main areas of professional values and practice; knowledge and understanding; and teaching for secondary school initial teacher training. All trainees have to meet these national Standards in order to gain qualified teacher status. Given the length of the academic year, this allows less than a week per Standard. Eight of these Standards refer to a linguistic component (cf Appendix Two; TTA, 2002; TDA, 2006). There is no specific mention of bilingualism but a clear emphasis on pupils with EAL.



The two key Standards are

- *S3.2.5 With the help of an experienced teacher, they can identify the levels of attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language. They begin to analyse the language demands and learning activities in order to provide cognitive challenge as well as language support.*

- *S3.3.5 They are able to support those who are learning English as an additional language, with the help of an experienced teacher where appropriate.*

(TTA, 2002; TDA 2006; [www.tda.gov.uk](http://www.tda.gov.uk))

The emphasis in both these Standards is firmly on support for EAL, although the mention of the need for cognitive challenge is potentially positive.

There is mention of diversity being valued, although this does not refer specifically to linguistic diversity.

- *S3.3.1 They have high expectations of pupils and build successful relationships, centred on teaching and learning. They establish a purposeful learning environment where diversity is valued and where pupils feel secure and confident.*

(TTA, 2002; TDA 2006; [www.tda.gov.uk](http://www.tda.gov.uk))

There are, then, opportunities for training to go beyond the minimum competence of considering the needs of pupils with EAL. Indeed, the 2006 guidance stresses the need to view the links between Standards and proposes that trainers may offer an area of specialisation to trainees. One of the suggested specialisations is as follows:-

*'an area of training relevant to the traditions or needs of region, such as training to work in multilingual classrooms.'*

(TDA, 2006; [www.tda.gov.uk](http://www.tda.gov.uk))

Once again, the implication here is that bilingual pupils occur in specific regions rather than acknowledging the possibility of a wider spread. This demonstrates the need for explicit data on linguistic diversity which is still missing at a national level.

In 2002, the inclusion of pupils with EAL was welcomed by organisations, such as National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC, 2004) and by individuals, such as the EAL co-ordinators in this study. The mention of EAL pupils is maintained in the new consultation document in Qualified Teacher Standard 16 and Induction Standard 19 (cf Appendix Two). However, the omission of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils appears to go unnoticed. Ideally, if trainees are encouraged to view pupils as individuals with differing strengths and assets, the full spectrum would be considered. The concern is that listing Standards may, at worst, limit thought processes to a tick list mentality. As Blair warns,

*'technical competencies in teaching are important but not sufficient in a diverse, class-based, gendered, multi-ethnic, multi-faith, multilingual society. Teachers now need to think in more complex multi-dimensional ways.'*

(Blair, 2002:12)

Standards are important as a reminder of key considerations but cannot possibly encompass the diverse and changing context that trainees encounter in the classroom.

Blair attests that historical negative experiences within the British school system over the past fifty years for pupils from minority groups imply that a code of practice is needed (Blair, 2002:2). She advocates time for reflection in order to examine one's own beliefs and prejudices as well as time to learn about the diverse nature of the pupils within any classroom (Blair, 2002:12). This is particularly pertinent with regards to bilingualism. It is



not enough to develop technical skills, it is vital to understand the underlying issues, attitudes and processes.

The imposition of numerous Standards makes it difficult to cover any topic in depth. As the School Co-ordinators in School 1 and 3 and the HEI representatives in HEI 3 and 4 acknowledge, the pressures of time leads to pragmatism. In reality some Standards are covered in more depth than others. Gillborn and Youdell confirm that even when people are aware of the divisive nature of their actions '*pragmatism*' is frequently offered as a *justification*' (2000:1). Such pragmatism serves to reinforce the inequity of the system and trainees need opportunities to challenge the system rather than simply becoming cogs within it. It will be interesting to research the effects of the proposed reduced number from forty-two to twenty-eight (DfES, 2006; Appendix Two), if the present consultation proposals come into effect in 2007. However, time is not a new issue in initial teacher training. It predated the advent of Standards, as McIntyre and Hagger's research highlighted in the mid-1990s (McIntyre and Hagger, 1996:163). The pressure of learning the complex process of teaching in one academic year is bound to create tensions and necessitate establishing priorities.

Standards relating to EAL pupils, such as those presented in Appendix Two, offer a starting point but need further exploration, both in terms of the perceptions and attitudes of trainers and trainees and the processes and strategies employed in the classroom. This forms part of the rationale for exploring the implementation of these Standards in this research.

The Teacher Training Agency survey in 2004 (cf Appendix One; TTA, 2004) indicates that trainees are not satisfied with their training in relation to pupils with EAL and the education of minority ethnic pupils. Only 25 % of trainees consider their training in relation to EAL pupils is good or better. This is an improvement on 20% in 2003. 32% noted that their



training for preparing them to teach pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds is good or better. These low percentages contrast sharply with the high percentages of satisfaction elsewhere with most areas receiving good or better scores of 75% or more (TTA, 2004). The problem with these figures is that there is no indication as to the percentage of respondents in comparison to the entire cohort of newly qualified teachers. Unfortunately, with the change from the Teacher Training Agency to the Teacher Development Agency, the surveys appear to have stopped and so no current details are available. However, the figures indicate a level of dissatisfaction in this area which is far greater than the general level in other aspects of training.

The evidence from the TTA survey then indicates that, even with a mention of EAL pupils and minority ethnic pupils in the Standards, preparation is rarely perceived as good or better (cf Appendix One; TTA, 2004).

This present research sets out to explore why this might be so and what trainers are doing to counteract these perceptions. The research therefore engages with trainers both from HEIs and schools as well as trainees in order to ascertain how the Standards relating to pupils with EAL and broader issues relating to bilingual pupils are generally explored.

### **2.3. iii Partnership models**

The term partnership model refers to partner schools and partner Higher Education Institutions that work together to provide training for initial teacher trainees. This constitutes a formal partnership required by the government in order to provide a strong link between the theoretical framework and the practical experience required for initial trainees to meet the national Standards.

Following the debates in the 1980s, led by strident anti-theorists, such as Lawlor (1990), a key concept became 'partnership' with schools (TTA, 1997). This emanated from the shift to a technical, rational, discourse in the late 1980s and a political decision to wrest the power from Higher Education Institutions and place the emphasis on schools. This was underlined by political debate such as that initiated by the then Education Secretary Kenneth Clarke's North of England speech (1992), which emphasised the need for an apprenticeship model in teacher training that would be parallel to other professions such as the law and medicine. The emphasis should be on practice. As Cochran-Smith states,

*'There are issues of the myth of teaching requiring little training and what is needed being provided on the job.'*

(Cochran-Smith, 2005:12).

This is particularly true in relation to issues of bilingualism where no specific training is offered. Bilingualism may be addressed in inner urban schools where there are significant numbers of bilingual pupils and linguistic diversity is the norm. However, for many schools in England linguistic diversity is still perceived as a minority issue (Gaine, 1987; 2005). Without formal training, trainees and trainers rely on personal experiences with little or no underpinning theoretical framework. This allows myths about bilingualism, such as the negative interference of one language with another to persist unchallenged. Practice without theory can reduce to commonly held beliefs that are not based on research or reality. It is crucial as Cummins emphasises that

*'Theory is an integral part of practice and vice versa.*

*Theory is dialogue.'*

(Cummins, 2000:1)

For many Higher Education Institutions, including HEI 1 and 2 in this study, it was the desire to enter into such dialogue that drove them to establish working relationships with

schools before it became mandatory. However, the shift to schools taking the key role in assessment represented the political will to value practice over theory. The technical rational emphasis took supremacy with a significant shift in educational discourse to one of consumerism and business connotations (Hoyle and John, 1995:134). Higher Education Institutions now became '*providers*' of training in a '*market place*' (Bottery and Wright, 2000).

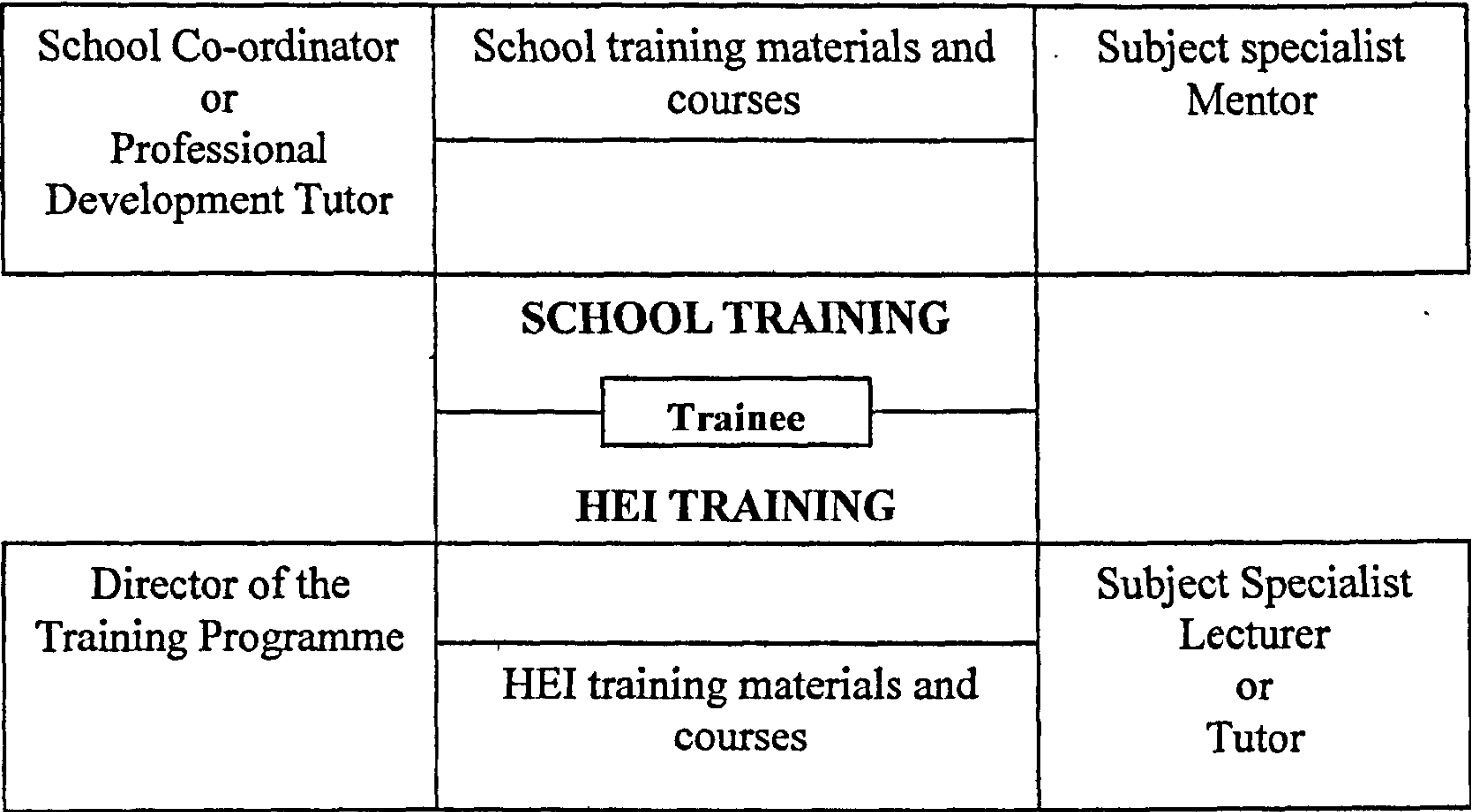
As Hoyle and John discuss, metaphor is a fundamental way of understanding and conceptualising the world around us (1995:134). This strong consumer and market-led imagery impacted on teacher training which was now required to have targets and quantifiable outcomes. The concept of a professional teacher changed from one that stressed '*the non-routine, value-laden, complex and interactive nature of a teacher's work*' to one of '*delivery and didacticism*' (Hoyle and John, 1995:143). Competences should be specified and open to discussion and scrutiny. Teaching should no longer be a mystery but unpicked to reveal its basic tenets (Bottery and Wright, 2000:13-16; Furlong and Maynard, 1995:30; Hoyle and John, 1995:144; Tickle, 2000;)

From as early as 1989, Circular 24/89 (DES, 1989) the intention was clear that trainees should spend more time in schools. Two new entry routes of the articulated and licensed teacher based prospective teachers predominantly in schools (cf Footnote 5, p.59). These new routes required HEIs and schools to work more closely together, whilst giving the schools more control over selection and assessment of trainees.

In 1992, the Department for Education Circular 9/92 outlined the new requirements for initial teacher training in the secondary sector, intending all secondary training to be school-based by 1994 (DfE, 1992). This was the beginning of the official recognition of the



need for active partnership between schools and Higher Education Institutions in the training of teachers.



*Figure 2.1 Different sources and components of training for initial teacher trainees in school / HEI partnerships*

Ideally all trainers work together to assess and provide quality assurance for each trainee.

The PGCE at HEI 4, inaugurated in 1994, took up this model with clear emphasis on a partnership with schools. Experienced teachers now had the main responsibility for accepting, training and assessing initial teacher trainees. This partnership model was generally accepted by 1997, when the Teacher Training Agency issued guidelines for ‘*Effective Training through Partnership*’ (TTA, 1997). HEI 3, as a relative new-comer to initial teacher training therefore automatically adopted a partnership model.

One of the concerns over predominantly school-based initial teacher training is quality control (Furlong et al., 2000:114). Schools vary in their provision for different aspects of education. This is particularly pertinent to Standards relating to EAL. For many schools, they do not perceive this as an aspect of education that is pertinent to the school context, as in School 1 in this research. If the national Standards encompassed the full spectrum of

bilingual pupils, they would be more applicable to a wider range of schools. However, the issue of awareness would still remain. Without a national requirement to collect data on languages, many schools remain unaware of the linguistic diversity in their pupil population. HEI 1 and 2 in this study recall raising awareness in schools through requiring trainees to collect data on the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils (cf 4.2.ii.e.). This is an example of the symbiotic relationship that partnerships between schools and HEIs can generate.

Furlong et al. (2000), identify two ideal models of partnership, 'complementary' and 'collaborative'. The complementary one meant little contact between the school and HEI. Both were aware of the other's role but they maintained separate knowledge domains. All the HEIs in this study operated the second collaborative model with an emphasis on teachers and tutors from the HEIs working together in the assessment of students and the provision of curriculum. This benefits Standards, such as those involving EAL pupils, as the relationships between HEI and school allow for open discussion of individual Standards. In practice, the pressures of time highlighted by Brookes (2000), Edwards et al. (2002), Edwards and Protheroe (2003) may mean that detailed discussions are unlikely to happen.

### **2.3. iv The role of the mentor in school-based training**

The emphasis on school-based training in the late 1980s brought new pressures for schools, already inundated with curriculum reforms, such as the Education Reform Act (DES, 1988). The requirement for schools to take a more active part in the assessment of trainees led to a significant change in the role of teachers in the schools. The concept of mentor was developed. A mentor is an experienced teacher who is responsible for supporting, offering advice, and assessing an initial teacher trainee within their own subject specialism. Their key role is to provide practical training within the school.

The mentor's role can take on many guises and, ideally, changes as the trainee progresses through their school placements. Furlong and Maynard (1995:181) suggest that mentors are likely to move through four stages from the role of model, in the first school placement, through to coach, critical friend and finally, at the stage of autonomous teaching, the role of co-enquirer.

Challenge is a crucial part of the mentors' role and is particularly important in areas such as learning to teach bilingual pupils, where attitudes and preconceptions may need confronting and discussing if trainees are to develop beyond their own educational experiences and horizons (Daloz, 1996; Burgess and Butcher, 1999; Butcher, 2001).

Edwards and Protheroe undertook research (2003) into mentors' roles based on primary schools that were involved in initial teacher training programmes with their own university. They conducted interviews and observations over the period of a year. The researchers had the advantage of automatic access to the schools and ready established relationships. The established relationships add credence to their findings as their conclusions were based on experience as well as the one year's specific study. Their findings related to the pressures involved in performing the mentor role would have been well received by the participants. However, they do not shy away from negative conclusions that could imply criticism of the schools involved. One of their observations was a lack of challenge for trainees by some mentors which may have been difficult to feedback to schools that had co-operated with the research. However, they balance criticism with a sympathetic explanation of the small scale micro culture within primary schools that makes it easier to play the role of friend and advisor. This helps to distance the comments and remove individual criticism or blame. The issue of lack of challenge in the mentors' role has also been noted in the larger institutions of secondary schools (Burgess and Butcher, 1999). The constraints described



in Edwards and Protheroe's study (2003) may well be reflected in the micro culture of a subject specialist department.

Edwards and Protheroe's observation that mentors are '*located in schools as activity systems with urgent goals in a national system of highly public accountability*,' (2003:194) rings true for secondary schools. Much of the emphasis on pupils who are perceived as having English as an additional language is linked to the need to make sure that pupils gain a suitable level within the testing and examination system. Pupils who speak other languages but are fully competent in English are not recognised as they are not likely to affect the overall standards of the school results. Mentors pass these concerns on to trainees in terms of identifying pupils who may need extra support to raise their levels to the minimum requirement to meet government targets.

The strong image of mentors '*desert-islanded within an ocean of school life*,' (Edwards and Protheroe, 2003:194) highlights the pressures felt by mentors. In the research undertaken for this thesis, it was notable that the mentors were the most inaccessible group of participants (cf 3.2.i.a). They seemed snowed under with other responsibilities that made it difficult to prioritise this research.

Such pressures impact particularly on Standards, such as those relating to EAL pupils, which are perceived as outside the main thrust of accountability. When time is scarce, then the priority is the subject specialism and the Standards for which schools feel most publicly accountable.

In relation to the Standards regarding EAL pupils, the model stage is crucial for setting examples and high expectations. Trainees in this study commented on how they had observed experienced teachers working with a wide range of linguistic groups with a view

to learning how to teach bilingual pupils. However, without set criteria or pointers for observation, the trainees found it difficult to pinpoint the strategies used by experienced teachers. Such modelling needs deliberate analysis in terms of the coaching and co-enquirer roles. Finding time for such coaching and co-enquiring is frequently perceived as problematic by trainees who feel that they are impinging on an already pressurised mentor.

Edwards et al (2002:113) criticise the common pattern of mentors observing lessons and commenting on adherence to the Standards. This pattern is not conducive to creative learning or interactive interpretative pedagogy. They advocate more time spent in co-teaching planning in order to develop more flexible ways of interpreting the Standards and externally driven criteria. This approach could be particularly helpful in terms of working with bilingual pupils, if the mentors themselves were confident practitioners in this field.

The materials analysed from the HEIs participating in this research show that suggested activities in relation to EAL pupils fit mainly into the later stages of critical friend and co-enquirer. The stated rationale behind addressing these issues later in the training is that the input then matches the likely stage of development of the trainee. Most trainees have worked through the concentration on teaching skills during the initial 'survival' stage of their training (Furlong and Maynard, 1995; Tickle, 2000) and have moved into the phase of considering the impact of their teaching on learning. After the initial focus on their own performance skills, most are ready to 'de-centre' and focus on pupils by their final school placement (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:65).

With issues relating to EAL and bilingualism, it may require mentors to operate within what Daloz (1986) terms '*cognitive dissonance*', or areas that challenge the trainees' previous conceptions and experiences described by Elliott and Calderhead (1995:50). This helps the trainee grow through the development of new knowledge (Kerry and Shelton-



Mayes, 1995:40). A concern for the field related to EAL and bilingualism is that there may also be cognitive dissonance for the mentors, as they may well lack training in this area themselves.

Challenge should ideally be introduced by the mentor to question student thinking and critique student preconceptions and tacit assumptions (Butcher, 2001:1). This is particularly pertinent in the field of teaching and learning involving EAL and bilingual pupils. Within their subject specialism, trainees often draw on their own school experiences as models. Although this provides a starting point for awareness and discussion, it is crucial to challenge these preconceptions. In this study, only 10% of the trainees felt that they had no previous experience of bilingualism. However, the other trainees acknowledged that their personal experience through families, school, work and travelling needed further exploration during their period of training.

As emphasised by Elliott and Calderhead (1995:40-41), it is vital for mentors to maintain a balance between challenge and support, especially in sensitive areas, such as linguistic diversity. However, it is this challenge and the ensuing assessment that differentiates the mentor role from the previous role for teachers of supervision. The supervisory role required teachers to monitor performance but the HEI tutors were responsible for assessment and guidance.

A key to successful mentoring is experience and the confidence to transfer knowledge and skills to a trainee. Mentors need time and support for professional development to fulfil this role successfully (McIntyre and Hagger, 1996:164). Glover and Mardle conducted research with twenty case study secondary schools in partnership with Keele University. This involved an element of quantitative research methods through questionnaires to one hundred mentors and qualitative research methods in subsequent semi-structured



interviews. Among other factors, they identified resource management, time management, and professional development as key factors in motivation of mentors (Glover and Mardle, 1996:75-95).

Until 2002, there was no requirement for initial teacher training to cover EAL pupils let alone bilingual pupils. This is an area, then, where mentors will need to draw on their own experience and possibly in-service training, as it will not have formally appeared in their own initial teacher training. It is possible, therefore, that mentors may lack the necessary confidence to tackle the Standards relating to EAL pupils, as indicated by the EAL co-ordinator in School 3 of this project.

*'When it comes to practicality in class, there are a lot of teachers who do not feel that they have the skills to deal with it.'*

(EAL Co-ordinator, School 3, 1.243-245).

If mentors lack confidence in their own skills, it is unlikely that they will challenge trainees to work beyond the minimum required to attain the Standard as specified.

Without explicit training in the field of bilingualism, mentors may rely on tacit knowledge, beliefs, assumptions and intuitions described by Zanting (2000). Zanting worked closely with mentors and conducted recall interviews. She then used concept-mapping to code and group her findings. Schön's proposed framework for knowledge (1983; 1987) and Schulman's categories of knowledge (1986) formed a basis for this analysis. The results clearly articulate some of the practical knowledge of mentors. One of the categories Zanting mapped was Schulman's *'knowledge of learners and their characteristics'* (Schulman, 1986). This is potentially relevant to bilingual learners and needs to become a conscious rather than tacit knowledge that mentors openly share with initial teacher trainees.

Mentor training is conducted by all four of the HEIs involved in this study. However, this training is limited to core activities that mainly revolve around assessment and planning. HEI 4 offers a qualification leading to a Masters degree in mentoring that can be undertaken through distance learning. This is thorough in its exploration of the role of mentors but is time consuming. Only highly motivated mentors concerned to boost their own career profiles undertake this course. The challenge for HEIs is how to provide training to less motivated mentors in areas, such as those relating to bilingual pupils.

Without a conscious effort on the part of the school-based and HEI-based trainers to engage in training or exchange skills and knowledge, it is possible for the teaching and learning processes in relation to bilingual pupils to be overlooked or to fall between theory and practice.

### **2.3.v The role of the professional development tutor (school co-ordinator) in school-based training**

Secondary schools in England have a senior manager who has overall responsibility for professional development within the school. This includes initial teacher training, where the role is sometimes described as a school co-ordinator. This term highlights the co-ordination element of the role. These senior managers liaise with the HEIs, organise professional development courses for trainees within the school and work with the mentors in terms of assessing individual trainees. Their role is crucial in triangulating decisions made about the trainees in terms of assessment and progression. They also play a key part in engendering a positive ethos about training in the school, which Glover and Mardle (1996:75-95) concluded was a major factor in the quality of initial teacher trainees' experiences in schools.

*'The most successful training environment appears to be  
where the staff of the school has developed a policy for*



*student training as part of a total staff development policy, negotiated the payment of time and money as part of the total package for involvement, and where the concept of the training school has become part of the culture.'*

(McIntyre and Hagger, 1996:149)

In comparison to the role of the mentor, little research has been conducted in depth about professional development tutors. For this reason, in 2004, the Teacher Training Agency commissioned a research project to explore the role further (Butcher and Mutton, 2006). This project identified four main roles for the initial teacher training co-ordinators. These are managerial, pastoral, pedagogical and evaluative.

The managerial and pedagogical roles of the professional development tutor are crucial to a successful school experience for trainees. The professional development tutor or school co-ordinator has an overview in terms of the experiences offered to trainees. They also have a responsibility for providing formal training for trainees and mentors. This was conscientiously undertaken in all four schools in this study in terms of generic training on issues relating to whole school policy, such as behaviour management, assessment and pastoral care. The school co-ordinators act as '*gatekeepers*' in terms of networking between key specialist staff and directing trainees to relevant policies and strategies.

Three of the participating school co-ordinators organise specific training in relation to pupils with EAL. Two of the schools use the local authority advisers. Their training programme includes bilingual pupils as well as EAL pupils. The identification and use of external '*experts*' exemplifies an essential element in a professional development tutor's role that requires an overview and identification of key issues related to training.



Trainees are required to look at the whole school policy for equal opportunities. It is the professional development tutors who should guide trainees through the intricacies of such policies in order to meet the Standard 3.3.14 (TTA, 2003:56). School co-ordinators play a key role in helping trainees to examine whole school policies and providing a broad overview that extends beyond the trainee's subject specialism. In terms of bilingual pupils, they, therefore, perform a crucial function by helping trainees to make links between their classroom practice and whole school strategies.

## **2.4 Equality of Opportunity**

The Handbook for Guidance about qualifying to teach (TTA, 2003:56) offers suggestions as to what might be covered under the principle of equal opportunities. The emphasis reflects the political agenda of raising achievement. It also highlights the importance of challenging stereotypes, bullying and harassment. Whilst the guidance mentions race, culture and ethnicity, it omits any mention of linguistic groups.

The initial statement that

*'Effective teaching involves having high expectations of  
all pupils, whatever their background, and a commitment  
to raising levels of educational achievement,'*

(TTA, 2003:56)

places the concept of equal opportunities firmly within the definition of equity of participation and equity of outcome (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000:3).

As an essential introduction to their analysis of two secondary schools in London, Gillborn and Youdell (2000:2-3) identify a shift in emphasis in terms of the developing concept of equality of opportunity. A basic definition used in the 1970s in Britain is one of equality of access and provision. This stressed the importance of removing formal and obvious

barriers to specific groups taking part in the learning process (Halsey and Karabel, 1977). Later, this was expanded to include equality of circumstance, for example, poverty. As Gillborn and Youdell (2000) point out, the British education system with its division between private and state funded schools does not even meet this basic tenet of equality.

Through the 1980s, concepts of equal opportunities moved on to equity of participation and equity of outcome. The Rampton (1981) and Swann (DES, 1985) reports on the education of minority ethnic groups in the Britain emphasised the need to address inequalities of outcome (cf 2.2.i.f). However, inequalities of outcome are still rife in terms of different ethnic and linguistic groups (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Ofsted, 1999, 2003).

While some minority ethnic groups appear to succeed within the examination and testing system, others consistently fail. Analysed as a group, pupils from Chinese and Indian heritage are successful at obtaining the 5 A-C GCSEs, nominated by central government as a symbol of success. Other groups, such as African- Caribbean boys, pupils of Bangladeshi heritage, and white working class boys fail to meet these targets (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003:11-12). These statistics raise issues about class and gender as well as race. HEI 3 in this study has specific material that is discussed in the professional development sessions for all initial teacher trainees in an attempt to alert them explicitly to this range of issues.

As a group, pupils designated as EAL do less well than the national average. At Key Stage 3 English, undertaken when pupils are thirteen years old, 60% EAL pupils achieved level 5 in 2002 against the national average of 67%; at GCSE English, undertaken at the age of sixteen, 52% EAL pupils gained a Grade C or above against the national average of 58% (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003:14).



This report by Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) is based on quantitative research funded by the government through the Department for Education and Skills. The analysis is based on national statistics throughout the schooling process (from ages 4 -18) and post-16 training in England, with only occasional references to the United Kingdom as a whole. The terminology used for ethnic groups is based on the Census 2001 categories that are also used for data collection from schools ([www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk), June 2006). The key findings make disturbing reading with evidence that some groups, such as Black Caribbean and Black African children making better progress than their white peers in pre-school years but doing progressively worse as they move through the school and training system.

The key finding relating to EAL pupils notes that, on average, they perform less well than pupils who have English as their first language, although EAL pupils make better progress between key stage assessments. Of real concern is the statement that *'Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils do less well than other groups regardless of their EAL status'* (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003:3). This highlights the need to analyse the school system beyond the limited notion of supporting pupils who are identified as having English as an additional language.

As the one positive key finding in the report emphasises, schools can make a difference through strong leadership and systems, a culture of high achievement, intensive support for pupils and close links with parents.

Although the achievement targets reported by Bhattacharyya et al. (2003) are politically constructed, the analysis does demonstrate an underlying inequality in terms of ethnicity and pupils designated as EAL. Such an analysis by linguistic group is not yet possible as no national survey exists. Individual schools may collect linguistic data, as in Schools 2, 3, and 4 in this research. However, without a national analysis by group, the risk is that



schools will put success or failure within the system down to an individual pupil. Gillborn and Youdell (2000:213-217) warn that such individualisation can mask overall trends and patterns and put the burden of success or failure on the individual pupil rather than the system. Issues relating to equal opportunities must be clearly identified as systemic rather than related to particular groups or individuals. Such systemic analysis is recommended by the Macpherson report (1999) which highlights the importance of detecting institutional racism.

It is concerning that the new proposed Standards, based on the discourse of *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2004), places a strong emphasis on personalised learning (DfES, 2006) without appearing to address underlying group issues related to class, gender and race. Whilst personalised learning in the classroom is important, it is crucial for trainees to place their decisions for planning in the broader equal opportunities context. Trainees need to have the confidence to recognise that whilst *'educational inequality is a structural phenomenon'*, they can influence outcomes and experiences for groups and individuals within their classrooms (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993:6).

## **2.5 Findings from the literature review**

This literature review has concentrated on the broad themes of bilingualism, initial teacher training and equal opportunities that are integral to this study.

Corson (1990) sums up the challenge for schools and initial teacher training.

*'It is no longer enough in pluralist societies, where group and individual language rights are recognised, to base education exclusively on the standard language used by dominant groups in society. Matters of social justice and equality coupled with an explosion of knowledge about linguistic issues and their effects*

*on language development have made the tasks of schools much more complex than they have seemed in the past.'*

(Corson, 1990:20)

He highlights here the vital link of linguistic issues with those of equality and social justice. It is vital to recognise in terms of equal opportunity and linguistic rights that bilingual pupils are not a homogenous group with common special needs. Initial teacher trainees need to be aware of the myriad contexts that influence bilingual pupils and their educational experiences. These include ethnic and cultural background, previous educational and life experiences, socio-economic status, experiences of racism, societal constructs and historical perspectives (Baker, 2003; Bourne, 1989; Cummins, 2000; Romaine, 1994, 2000).

These are important issues that impinge on schools and should be addressed during initial teacher training. If teachers are to develop strategies to initiate discussions with pupils about their use of languages, devise ways of valuing other languages within the classroom and help pupils become aware of the political importance of languages in the curriculum, the training period should consider a range of alternative pedagogic possibilities. These might include interactive, interpretative pedagogy (Edwards et al, 2002:113) and ideas related to transformative pedagogy advocated by Cummins (1995, 2000).

In terms of initial teacher training, Higher Education Institutions should ensure that trainees understand the complexities of defining bilingualism (Baker, 1988, 2004, 2006; Burck, 2005; Wei, 2000) and the theories that underpin bilingual development. Schools need to alert trainees to the dynamic nature of linguistic diversity and the assets bilingualism can bring to the classroom and the learning process. Trainees also have a responsibility to acquire specific knowledge about the diversity of languages represented in British schools and the different forms and definitions of bilingualism.

Issues relating to bilingualism highlight the importance of dialogue between theory and practice in order to enable trainees to make informed decisions in the classroom. Without the opportunities to examine theories relating to bilingualism and match them with practice, trainees run the risk of relying entirely on their own personal histories and their school placements, which may promote a deficit model of EAL rather than a positive picture of the richness and advantages of linguistic diversity.



# **Chapter Three**

## **Research Design and Methodology**

### **3.1 Research Design and Methodology**

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology and the process of data collection for a bounded, multiple-site, case study that focuses on how initial teacher trainees learn to teach bilingual pupils at secondary school level. After exploring the choice of qualitative rather than quantitative methodology, it examines the rationale for a case study. Finally, it details the process of data collection and explores some of the methodological issues that arose, including researcher bias, validity, and transferability.

#### **3.1. i Introduction to Research Design and Methodology**

The research was designed from September 2003 to March 2004. During this phase various possible designs and methodological approaches were considered of both a quantitative and qualitative nature.

A quantitative approach is suitable for a large scale survey involving statistical analysis, such as the annual Teacher Training Agency (TTA) surveys of Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT) (TTA, 2004; cf Appendix One). Had this study involved a large scale survey or systematic observation, using a pre-determined coding scheme (Flanders, 1970), a quantitative approach would have been suitable (Mercer et al, 2004:196). However, a strong part of the rationale behind this research was the desire to explore in more detail the reasons behind the expression of dissatisfaction that emerged from the TTA survey (2004) in relation to learning to teach pupils with English as an additional language (cf 1.2.). A small scale, in-depth study appeared to be most appropriate for this analysis.

The research questions developed as a series of iterations through a dynamic engagement between the literature review, the researcher's previous experience and initial contacts with key participants. The ensuing research questions emerged (cf 1.1.).

- Why are the Standards relating to bilingualism frequently perceived, by initial teacher trainers and trainees, as problematic?
- To what extent does initial teacher training prepare trainees to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England?
- How do policies, beliefs and strategies underpin this training?

The why, what and how nature of the key questions lend themselves to a qualitative approach as this allows for an in-depth exploration of issues and offers an opportunity for practitioners to voice their opinions and concerns (Hammersley, 1999). Through semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews, the research aims to uncover the underlying attitudes and strategies used by trainers and trainees in the area of teaching bilingual pupils. This qualitative approach allows for an analysis of practitioners' ideas as well as the policies that underpin the training.

Creswell (1995) details five traditions in qualitative enquiry as biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study. This research reflects elements related to three of these approaches.

Firstly, there is an element of grounded theory. Rather than coming to the research with pre-determined hypotheses and a fixed theory, the underpinning theories, frameworks and coding for this study emerged from the data following a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The process of data collection encompassed twenty three individual semi-structured interviews, five focus groups, four classroom observations and an analysis of documentation. This formed the basis for establishing categories, coding, checking for saturation and final analysis.



One of the strengths of a grounded theory approach is that it encourages a focus on processes. It allows for an analysis of social worlds through exploring insider accounts (Bartlett and Payne, 1997). Categories emerged from the interviews and these were then developed into coding nodes using the computer software N6 (cf Appendix Six). It was important to analyse the data as the interviews progressed in order to check for saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Appendix Nine provides one method used to check for saturation on key ideas relating to bilingual pupils through the anecdotes and case studies that emerged from the individual semi-structured interviews and the focus groups.

The concept of saturation enables the researcher to establish whether sufficient evidence has been gathered within each category and code. It demands a close reading and constant revisiting of the data in order to build up a detailed picture. This iterative process encourages a continuous interplay between the data collection and the analysis with the one informing the other. This means that the interview questions can be modified to explore specific concepts further.

This facility for modification in the light of further evidence and the emphasis on process form part of the basis for criticism on the grounds of validity and generalisability advocated by modernists, such as Yin (2002). The modernist critique argues that, in order to establish the truth, the researcher needs to be objective and use pre-structured questions that have been pre-checked for bias. This allows for direct comparison and strengthens validity. The pre-defined questions also allow for replication.

A grounded theory approach undermines the assumption that there is an essential truth and pre-ordained meanings. It encourages reflection and the exploration of meaning (Stake, 1995). It does not allow for direct replication valued by modernists. However, it does allow for transferability, as advocated by Guba and Lincoln (1989) (cf 3.1.iii). Through

the detailed coding of insider accounts, the researcher uncovers themes and theories that may be useful in other contexts. In this way, the researcher is not a passive receiver of information but is actively engaged in generating explanations and developing the research process. The recognition of this active role and the subsequent possible bias of the researcher is crucial in research that involves politically and socially constructed areas, such as education (cf 3.1.v.).

A further key factor for employing a grounded theory approach in this research is Glaser and Strauss' argument that

*'grounded substantive theory can give participants in a situation a broader guide to what they already tend to do and perhaps help them to be more effective in doing it.'*

(Glaser and Strauss, 1967)

This reflects one of the aims of the research in terms of being *'illuminative'* (Stake, 1995) rather than purely *'exploratory, descriptive and explanatory'* (Yin, 1994). The final analysis, therefore, grows out of the participants' perception and the research process.

Another approach used in this research is ethnographic, as the study takes a holistic view of the cultural system of training teachers. This includes describing and analysing the major contexts and documentation relating to initial teacher training in terms of Higher Education Institutions and schools. The methods include primary observation and interviews over an extended period of a year from June 2004 to June 2005. Wolcott (1999:78) describes one of the key components of an ethnography as including a holistic or contextual overview with cross-cultural and comparative elements.

The research methodology for this case study employs ethnographic approaches in terms of ways of seeing (Eisner, 1991; Wolcott, 1999). This seems appropriate as the research



focused on fieldwork that explores the specific cultural setting of selected secondary schools and Higher Education Institutions. In the tradition of ethnography, the study aims to provide a rich, detailed description in a search for an explanation of the social processes related to initial teacher training in the field of bilingualism (Geertz, 1973; Hammersley, 1990).

Whilst employing some ethnography methods, the final decision favoured a case study approach. This decision was based predominantly on the nature of the research and the emerging questions. Creswell (1998:66) distinguishes ethnography as studying the entire cultural system, giving a holistic view. There is an element of exploring a cultural system in this study in relation to the framework for initial teacher training and the national Standards. However, the major focus is an in-depth analysis of four secondary schools and four higher education institutions. This then involves only a limited number of specific contexts rather than a holistic view.

The purpose of this focus is to provide an example of practice in initial teacher training in relation to bilingual pupils. The choice of specific examples indicates a bounded system, which Creswell (1998:61) identified as appropriate for a case study.

The decision to concentrate on the design of an education-based case study took into account the following definition of a case study as

*'the investigation of, or the use of information from,  
a relatively small number of naturally occurring cases.'*

(Hammersley, 1992:86)

Further details of the rationale for a case study are given in 3.1.iii.



### **3.1. ii Qualitative versus Quantitative Research Methodology**

Quantitative research has traditionally been associated with a scientific positivist approach. Within this paradigm, it is essential to collect data that could be analysed and verified numerically. Good quantitative studies allow for replication, verification and generalisation (Cohen et al, 2000). Within the field of education such methods are mainly used for large scale longitudinal studies that allow for national and international comparison.

One example of such a study was the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) survey of newly qualified teachers (cf Appendix One). This was set up in 2001, after the national Standards for initial teacher training came into force in 2000. The prime purpose of these annual surveys is to establish levels of satisfaction with initial teacher training from the perspective of newly qualified teachers. As a national survey, it shows trends and highlights areas of strengths and weaknesses within the overall training process.

The survey employs a quantitative approach of a structured questionnaire that allows for year on year comparisons. This quantitative approach is appropriate for large numbers of potential respondents and the purpose of providing an overview of the levels of satisfaction within different areas of the National Standards. It allows the government to demonstrate areas of satisfaction or concern.

Through this survey, the Teacher Training Agency suggested that, in 2004, there was a 5% improvement in the provision for learning to teach pupils with English as an additional language (TTA, 2004). Such a claim is difficult to substantiate as the results do not make clear the potential numbers of participants or the percentage of trainees who actually responded. This illustrates a frequent challenge to quantitative research that involves the interpretation of statistics (Cohen et al, 2000).

Nevertheless, such a survey can be useful if trainers look beyond the basic figures. For example, the 5% improvement was from a very low base of 20% in comparison with levels of satisfaction in other areas of training that register 70% to 85% satisfaction levels (cf 1.2; Appendix One). The survey prompted a response from all the Higher Education Institutions involved in this case study. It heightened awareness, amongst the participating trainers, of the low levels of satisfaction in this area and the need to improve training in relation to pupils who have English as an additional language.

The survey triggered action in one of the four participating Higher Education Institutions, where the Standards relating to pupils with English as an additional language now appear on the generic and departmental action plans for the first time. This led to a scrutiny of the professional development programmes and specific subject inputs.

In this way, the Teacher Training Agency national survey (2004) demonstrates how quantitative methodology can work well in educational settings, where figures help guide policy or identify strengths and weaknesses in present provision. At the very least, the Teacher Training Agency surveys over the past four years indicate trends that can inform future training. Unfortunately, with the change from the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) to the Training and Development Agency (TDA), the survey of newly qualified teachers appears to have stopped.

However, the 2004 quantitative survey (TTA, 2004; cf Appendix One) raises questions about the underlying reasons for the apparent dissatisfaction. It highlights a need to explore the actual processes for initial teacher training in this area in detail. Such details are more effectively elicited from in-depth interviews and observations in the field, indicating a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach.



This in-depth qualitative case study therefore builds upon the quantitative research undertaken by the Teacher Training Agency. In this way, the study demonstrates that there is not necessarily a complete schism between quantitative and qualitative methods. As Pring (2000) and Gorard (2002) argue, there need not be a stark choice between the two broad categories of methodology. Gorard's argument for a 'complete' researcher is sound (Gorard, 2002; Gorard and Taylor, 2004). It is important for all researchers to be competent in analysing statistics and quantitative data. Similarly, it is crucial to put a human face to quantitative research.

For this research, it would have been possible to conduct a more detailed national survey involving large scale statistical analysis. Following the Teacher Training Agency surveys, it seemed unnecessary to replicate a national quantitative survey. Nor would such a survey have answered the research questions posed by this study. Instead, a small scale in-depth study was designed to elicit the possible beliefs, attitudes and experiences that may underpin the responses given in the national survey (TTA, 2004).

Qualitative approaches are more relevant to this research for the following reasons. Firstly, qualitative research more readily allows for a naturalistic enquiry. From the researcher's perspective, it was important to consider the core questions from diverse points of view (Delamont, 1992:21). Conducting interviews and observations permitted the researcher to explore issues in-depth and from first-hand experience (Wolcott, 1999:41). This helped establish why there are difficulties with these particular Standards and what practical strategies trainers and trainees employ.

Secondly, the research is based predominantly on an interpretative framework. As a small scale case study, it involves '*interpreting the specific*' and '*investigating the taken for*



*granted*' (Cohen et al, 2000:35). This can be done more effectively through qualitative methods including individual and small group interviews and observations.

### 3.1. iii The rationale for a case study

The first research question interrogates why the initial teacher training Standards relating to bilingualism are frequently perceived as problematic. This question arose during the research process. An analysis of the TTA survey for NQTs (TTA, 2004; Appendix One) reveals dissatisfaction with training in this field. During the semi-structured interviews in this research, participants talked about the Standards relating to pupils with English as an additional language in terms of difficulties and problems. This attitude to the Standards was encapsulated by the director of HEI 3, who recalled the term '*troublemaker Standard*' (HEI 3, Director, 1.209) being used at a mentor training meeting.

The second question about the extent of the initial teacher training emerged from the implications of the Teacher Training Agency surveys (TTA, 2004). Did the dissatisfaction expressed by newly qualified teachers reflect a lack of training or the nature of the training? Did the Higher Education Institutions and the schools use explicit training or was it an integral part of the teaching and learning process and therefore not recognised by the trainees? Was it a case of trainees expecting '*some magical*' ingredient (HEI 3, Director, 1.646) that was completely separate from the rest of the process?

In order to explore the first two questions, it seemed vital to examine the underlying assumptions in terms of the policies and beliefs mentioned in the third research question. These policies and beliefs are reflected in the strategies. An analysis of the strategies mentioned in question three is important if the case study is to be illuminative for practitioners.

Arguably, these questions could be answered at a basic level through an analysis of documentation and policies. In order to gain an in-depth view of the underlying attitudes, values and strategies, it was necessary to involve professionals and trainees in the field. Involving participants from all levels of the training process ensured triangulation within the field and helped improve validity. It was also important to triangulate the evidence gained between methods (Delamont, 1992:159). Therefore the documentation was checked with first-hand observations of practice and interviews as a means of reviewing how practice related to theory.

A major component missing from the Teacher Training Agency quantitative survey was any indication or exploration of the underlying attitudes and beliefs that led to the negative responses in this area. This omission was of particular interest to the researcher, who wanted to explore the framework for learning to teach bilingual pupils. The framework for learning establishes the context for training and, in terms of socio-cultural theory, is highly influential in determining the outcomes (Hawkins, 2004:4). In order to analyse the learning framework for initial teacher training, it seemed pertinent to examine specific contexts in detail.

The choice of a case study methodology emerged from the specific focus and context and the small scale nature of the study. Various models of case study were considered.

The models propounded by Yin (2002) are largely based on a modernist approach. Rather than searching for an established truth using pre-structured questions, the process chosen was a reflexive one. As advocated by Stake (1995), the purpose of this case study was to seek understanding and explore the underlying meaning; to search out '*tacit knowledge*' and understanding in order to explore the underlying factors involved in learning to teach bilingual pupils (Hammersley, 1999:148).



A further consideration was the role of the researcher. Yin's idea (2002) of maintaining the role of an objective researcher would not have proved feasible given the previous experiences and potential bias of the researcher. The researcher preferred to recognise and use her professional background in education. The emphasis was on creating an atmosphere where everyone involved in the research process could participate fully and enter into the process as equal partners (Halliday, 2000). This was based on the premise, supported by Bassey, that all teachers are equal, irrespective of seniority (Bassey, 2003:120). In terms of this research, it was crucial to respect and include the opinions of initial teacher trainees as much as the trainers, who may be perceived as having higher status because of their pay and experience.

The researcher was aware that the trainees may perceive her as a senior figure because of her age and experience. The focus groups proved useful in terms of establishing non-hierarchical relationships as discussion flowed between participants. This process provided trainees with mutual support and allowed ideas to develop without constant reference to the researcher.

With the trainers, there was a distinct advantage in having a similar professional background as it created a feeling of mutual understanding and trust. The mutual understanding comes from a common language and experience base and may encourage participants to be more open and reflect on their actual experiences rather than telling the researcher what they believe she wants to hear. The caveat, however, is the need to be constantly aware that using the same terminology does not necessarily mean that there is the same understanding. It was important to check terms especially in relation to the participants' understanding of bilingualism and English as an additional language.



Another decision lay with the concept of the transferability of ideas rather than Yin's preference for generalisation. It would not be possible to generalise from a small number of participating institutions. It was, however, conceivable to transfer ideas from one context to another and to use a case study as a basis for further exploration and research. This followed the ideas of Stake's '*naturalistic generalisation*' (Stake, 2000:38) and Guba and Lincoln's (1989) suggestion of transfer of findings on a basis of '*fit*'.

A variety of possible case study models were considered during the design period. Wolcott (1999:88) recommends a single case study arguing that multiple case studies diminish depth. A multiple case study involves a series of related case studies. This would have been a possible model for the proposed research, if each institution was taken as a separate case study.

In order to achieve breadth, the study needed to involve several institutions. However, it was important to restrict the number of sites in order to maintain an in-depth collection of data necessary for a good quality case study. It was therefore decided to design one case study, using a small number of institutions. The primary focus was the same on all sites. This made contrasting and comparing possible. Each site contributed to the one case study making it a multiple-site case study (Stake, 1995) or using the terminology of Bassey and Pratt (2003:169), a collective case study.

With this design in mind, the researcher approached eight schools and the partner Higher Education Institutions. The choice of eight was predicated on the knowledge that not all institutions would be able to participate. The detailed criteria for the choice of institutions are discussed later (cf 3.1.iv).

A small scale case study was designed deliberately to allow for an in-depth interrogation of the data. The final selection therefore involved only four schools and four Higher Education Institutions. This small number of participating institutions meant that the case study was bounded. A bounded case study acknowledges the limits on the scope of the data collection (Stake, 1999). This case study is bounded geographically, numerically, and by context. The specific details of the boundaries appear in the following section (cf 3.1.iv).

A further deliberation was whether the case study would be descriptive, exploratory, or instrumental (Yin, 2002). In the initial stages, the case study was exploratory and descriptive. Through visits to the participating institutions and interviews with trainers and trainees, a descriptive picture emerged. This formed the basis for exploring further issues. As the research developed it became exploratory, not in a positivist sense, but in the light of checking understandings with participants and relating this to the analysis of policies and legislation. In this way, the researcher was able to follow Langrish's suggestions of testing initial ideas, refining questions and obtaining examples of practice to help develop a theory (Langrish, 1993).

A further possible use of a case study is an instrumental one designed to inform practice and future policy making. However, the small scale of this study militates against an instrumental purpose. Rather it may act as a mirror of present practice that may be built upon in future research. In this way, this case study aims to be illuminative (Swann and Pratt, 2003:202-203).

### **3.1. iv Details of the case study**

Against this background, it seemed appropriate to conduct a qualitative case study that allowed for a detailed examination of the key issues and how they may be addressed. The



purpose of this multiple-site case study (Stake, 1978; Burgess, 1984; Creswell, 1998; Bassey, 2003) was to describe and analyse the strategies used by schools and Higher Education Institutions when helping initial teacher trainees work with bilingual pupils.

It was designed as a bounded case study (Stake, 1995) that examined the particular phenomenon of learning to teach bilingual pupils in the state secondary school setting in the South of England. It involves four sets of partner institutions. It is bounded in four major ways.

The first boundary is numerical. The research restricts the number of national Standards studied and concentrates on selected national Standards associated with training to teach bilingual pupils. This selection was in response to the gap in research that revealed a lack of in-depth analysis of the issues arising from the National Standards relating to learning to teach pupils with English as an additional language (cf Appendix One).

The case study is also numerically bounded by the small number of participating partner institutions. This boundary was based on the desire to conduct a study that allowed sufficient breadth for comparison whilst maintaining a depth of detail. For this reason, the selection of Higher Education Institutions was restricted to four Higher Education Institutions already working in partnership with the selected schools. The present model of partnership between Higher Education Institutions and schools, (Furlong, 2000), predicated the decision to limit invitations to partner institutions only. It was vital in terms of triangulation and verification to involve institutions that already worked closely together as it then becomes possible to cross reference perceptions from all the participants.

The second major boundary is geographical as the study focuses on two local education authorities in the South of England. This arose from the desire to study issues relating to



bilingualism excluding the major conurbations. This is a response to the lack of research related to bilingualism in areas outside the inner urban environments. The choice of the South of England reflected the funding of the research as a regional studentship with the Open University.

The third category of boundaries relates to context. The schools were deliberately selected from the state sector rather than the private sector, as private schools are not obliged to follow the same national Standards and would therefore constitute a different case study.

The second contextual factor was the choice of secondary schools, with an age range of 11-18. This was based on the premise that research into pupils with English as an additional language in the United Kingdom is slightly more prevalent at primary school level (4-11) (Bourne, 1989, 1997; Bourne and Flewitt, 2002; Kibler, 2005; Levine, 1990; Smyth, 2002) than at secondary level (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Shain, 2003). However, at both age ranges the focus tends to be on inner urban schools. There have been exceptions in the United Kingdom where studies have taken place in 'all-white' schools (Gaine, 1987, 2005; Sleeter, 1994). However, bilingualism does not feature in these studies that concentrate on teacher and pupil attitudes and beliefs.

The third contextual factor emerged from the emphasis of previous research on inner urban environments. The target became schools with less than 30% of pupils designated as having English as an additional language. As all trainees, regardless of the geographical or contextual factors, are required to meet these Standards nationally, it seemed pertinent to explore examples that reflected a more representative experience in terms of the national average of pupils with English as an additional language in the school (cf 1.2).

Teacher Training Agency funded research, conducted by the Open University in 2003/4, indicated that schools, where there are few pupils with English as an additional language, relied upon the Higher Education Institutions and second school placements to help trainees meet these particular standards (Sinka and Butcher, 2004). Such schools did not provide positive training models in this field.

In an attempt to examine some positive strategies, the schools chosen for this study had a reputation for 'good' practice. The 'good' practice was in terms of initial teacher training in all of the schools. The designation of 'good' came from Ofsted inspection reports which are public reports commissioned by the government ([www.ofsted.gov.uk](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk)). Two of the chosen schools have training school status. This means that the government recognises their capacity to support other local schools in matters of training. All schools had good reputations for training with the local higher education providers. Three of the schools selected also had positive approaches to pupils with English as an additional language. This was identified through Ofsted reports ([www.ofsted.gov.uk](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk)). This selection facilitated an exploration of what constitutes perceived 'good' practice in this field as well as what might constitute 'good' practice.

The fourth major boundary involves time. The researcher was aware of the time constraints imposed by a three year regional studentship grant that set clear expectations that the research would be completed within the three year time frame. As a single researcher, it was important to set feasible goals that could be met within these time limits.

The second time constraint is that for three out of the four Higher Education Institutions, initial teacher training takes place over one academic year from September to July. The fieldwork needed to fit into this framework.



As Bourne identifies,

*‘The research literature has tended to date to be stronger  
on theory and critique than on practice.’*

(Bourne, 2004:2)

This multiple-site case study has therefore been designed to focus on and illuminate practice as a contribution towards filling this gap. The aim of the study is to add to experience and improve understanding in the field of initial teacher training in relation to bilingual pupils generally, including those specified as having English as an additional language.

### **3.1. v Researcher bias**

From the outset of this research, the researcher was acutely aware of her own bias, based on a lifelong career in education. Professional experiences include teaching French and English in multi-lingual secondary schools both in Tunisia and England. This involved working predominantly in inner urban schools. A substantial period was spent advising teachers on pupils with English as an additional language in a county in the South of England. Latterly, the researcher was trained by Ofsted to inspect English, modern foreign languages, equal opportunities and with a special responsibility for English as an additional language. This involved inspecting a wide range of primary and secondary schools over a ten year period which added breadth to the previous experiences. Another crucial experience has been as a tutor with initial teacher training in two Higher Education Institutions.

These experiences are bound to lead to bias in the sense that Becker (1967) defines it as sympathy with one view. In this case, previous experience in initial teacher training led to an appreciation of the pressures on trainers and trainees. The work in modern foreign



languages and with pupils who have English as an additional language has developed a strong bias in favour of recognising and promoting the benefits of bilingualism.

One advantage to these previous experiences was familiarity with the protocol of approaching schools, interviewing teachers and detailed classroom observation (Burgess, 1984). The process of data collection proved reasonably straightforward within this study as the initial stages of development undergone by researchers completely new to fieldwork (Coe, 1994) were avoided.

One distinct disadvantage is the very different nature of the research approach and the role of researcher to the recent experience of inspecting schools. The research process involves exploring, analysing and understanding why, using Eisner's idea of the enlightened eye (Eisner, 1991). This contrasted with the potentially restrictive straightjacket of set criteria imposed by a formal government framework (Ofsted, 2002).

It was vital to be alert to the very different role and relationship required as a researcher. Unlike the inspection process, there was no compulsion for participants to take part in the research. Whilst a common professional background helped initial access, it was crucial to maintain good relationships with all participants in order to elicit open responses (Walker, 1978). This also encouraged participants to give extra time in terms of involvement in observations and completion of diaries.

Burgess, among others, discusses the issues of being 'an insider' (Burgess, H. 1985). One advantage was speaking the 'local' language so strongly advocated by Malinowski and early ethnographers (Wolcott, 1999:28). This, undoubtedly, helped initial access and the establishment of mutual respect. It also aided understanding beyond the literal, which led to more subtle interpretations of statements made. However, it was important to guard

against the tendency for professionals in the same field to assume certain common understandings and not fully express the underlying assumptions or details (Burgess, H. 1985:185). One example of this was when participants used acronyms and educational jargon freely. This eased the flow of ideas but made it difficult to explore their personal underlying understanding of the underlying concepts.

The potential disadvantage of over familiarity with the subject matter was constantly kept in mind. '*Making the familiar strange*' rather than the traditional ethnographic perspective of researching '*the unfamiliar and strange*' (King, 1978; Hammersley, 1999; Wolcott, 1999) constituted a permanent challenge. The constant re-visiting of the data through transcribing and coding helped establish a distance between the research process and the analysis of ideas. This helped guard against a '*blinkered view*' and '*the manipulation of data*' aptly highlighted by Evans (2000:139-146).

Despite familiarity with the overall culture, the role chosen was of an external observer to the specific institutions. This helped maintain a distance and a degree of objectivity essential to the research process. However, it eliminated the possible advantages described by Pollard (1985) of being a full participant observer, who clearly gives to the school as well as taking. In a small way, the diaries (cf. Appendix 3), given to trainees for completion, could have acted as a 'reward' (Lovey, 2004:12). There was potential for the diaries to prove useful in terms of highlighting areas that may help address the relevant Standards. Certainly, the trainers perceived the diaries and the interviews as useful tools for professional development for the trainees. In the event, only six out of sixty were completed and returned. This small percentage return reflects the pressures of time on trainees who prioritised the essential activities proscribed by the HEIs and the requirements of the national Standards.



### 3.1. vi The Selection of Higher Education Institutions and Schools

Initial Teacher Training depends upon Higher Education Institutions and local schools working in partnership to help trainees gain evidence for meeting the nationally specified Standards (TTA, 2002). For this reason, this case study involved both schools and their local Higher Education Institutions. The fieldwork took place in four secondary schools and the four partner Higher Education Institutions from June 2004 to June 2005 (cf Tables 3.1; 3.2).

Schools were selected on the basis of 'good' reputations for initial teacher training and/or teaching pupils with English as an additional language. These reputations were based on local information available from the local education authorities and partner Higher Education Institutions and national reports available from the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) ([www.ofsted.gov.uk](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk)). The desire to analyse the policies, strategies and beliefs in schools that have recognised acceptable practice formed a strong element for the choice of schools. The premise was that gaps in provision in these schools are more significant than if they occur in schools that are known to have weaknesses in their training capacity or their provision for pupils with languages other than English.

School	Status	Age range	No: on roll	No: EAL
School 1	Training School Sports College	11-18 mixed	2100	0.7% None at early stages
School 2	Training School	11-18 mixed	1400	6.5% up from 5.9% in 2002
School 3	Community comprehensive	11-18 mixed	1500	22% up from 10% in 2001
School 4	Community comprehensive	11-18 mixed	1100	30%

*Table 3.1 Summary of basic statistics for the four participating schools*



The percentages in the above table do not include all bilingual pupils as this data was not available in the schools.

All four participating schools are state mixed comprehensives for 11 to 18 year olds, with up to 30% of pupils who have been identified by the school as pupils with English as an additional language. Schools 1 and 2 are Training Schools, with active traditions of participating in research. The long established school co-ordinators attended a presentation about the intended study at an initial teacher training conference in June 2004. They expressed an interest in participating. Both responded positively and immediately in September 2004 to the formal request to participate in this research.

Making initial contact prior to a formal request proved a helpful strategy with all the schools. The informal contact with the other two schools sprang from mutual involvement in a Student Associate Scheme<sup>5</sup> in February 2004. In the case of School 3, the contact person was new to the role of school co-ordinator. She waited until December 2004 before becoming actively involved. After conducting an initial interview with the co-ordinator for English as an additional language, the researcher went into School 4 in June 2004 in order to follow a pupil for the day. This proved extremely useful in terms of understanding the context of the school and appreciating the impact of 30% of pupils coming from different ethnic groups.

After this initial visit, where the staff were interested in the research and welcoming, full access to School 4 did not materialise until March 2005. There was a change in the person performing the role of the school co-ordinator. As he was new to the job, he needed time to establish his own credentials. The delay illustrates the importance of key participants

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<sup>5</sup> The Student Associate Scheme is a government initiative started in 2003. It aims to encourage undergraduates into teaching by paying them to observe in schools for two weeks. The scheme is organised by HEIs with partner schools. The students are also required to attend lectures providing some theoretical background to teaching and learning. Details are available from [www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk).

feeling confident in their role in order to exert pressure on others in terms of encouraging their participation. It also highlights the issue of work load for participants and the difficulty of prioritising time for participation in external research.

All four school co-ordinators played a major role in setting up opportunities for further interviews within the school. Without their full support, the fieldwork would not have happened. The importance of identifying and fostering a positive relationship with key informants can not be over estimated in terms of accessing a community or specific culture. (Malinowski, 1922; Spradley, 1979; Wolcott, 1999.)

A strong partnership between Higher Education Institutions and schools is a major component in the present model of initial teacher training. (McIntyre, 1997; TTA, 1997; Furlong, 2000) Therefore, a key factor in selecting the four Higher Education Institutions was their link to at least one of the participating schools. This allowed for the triangulation of evidence collected from the trainees and staff based in the schools. This, in turn, was cross-referenced with data collected from staff in the Higher Education Institutions. The documentation from all the participating institutions acted as a further strand of triangulation.

HEI	University Status	Type of course	No: subjects	No: trainees	Time in school
HEI 1	New University <sup>6</sup>	PGCE GTP	8	250	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 24 weeks</li> <li>• 4 days a wk</li> </ul>
HEI 2	Old University	PGCE	6	274	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 24 weeks</li> </ul>
HEI 3	New University	PGCE GTP	7	151 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 24 weeks</li> <li>• 4 days a wk</li> </ul>
HEI 4	Distance learning University	PGCE	6	80 in the participating region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 levels from 10-24 weeks</li> </ul>

*Table 3.2 Summary of initial teacher training provision in the four participating Higher Education Institutions (HEI)*

<sup>6</sup> The term new university applies to former polytechnics. They became universities in 1992.



As the table above illustrates, all four Higher Education Institutions are providers of a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) course in Secondary Education. These courses integrate university-based learning with school-based learning. The school experience element requires trainees to work in two partner schools, ideally of a contrasting nature. The pattern of the school placements varies from institution to institution. All courses, however, must fall within the government guidelines of at least 24 weeks in school for trainees who have no previous experience of teaching. (TTA, 2002; TDA,2006a; [www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk) ; [www.tda.gov.uk](http://www.tda.gov.uk) )

Two of the selected Higher Education Institutions also assist in the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP). This programme places the emphasis on working in schools as an unqualified teacher, with the schools taking the major lead in the training. The training programme is supported by a local consortium or Designated Recommending Bodies (DRB) consisting of Local Authorities and Higher Education Institutions. Most of these programmes are designed to give maximum practical classroom contact over an academic year with some day release to attend the local Higher Education Institutions ([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk)). This tends to lead to less theoretical input than the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). Both courses require trainees to undertake assessment activities and all trainees must show evidence of reaching the same national Standards.

Access to these institutions was straightforward, as all were keen to assist in research. The initial approach was made through e-mail, followed by a telephone conversation. The interviews took place at the Higher Education Institutions, with one exception. This ensured that the time commitment of the participants was kept to a minimum and allowed the researcher to collect documentation and materials.



### 3.1. vi Issues of validity and transferability

The selection of the participating institutions was done on a basis of '*exemplifying*' rather than sampling (Newholm, 2000). It would have been possible to design a case study encompassing a sample of two schools with reputed 'good' practice and two schools with reputed 'poor' practice. The decision to '*example*' schools with a positive reputation for training and teaching bilingual pupils was based on the desire to explore the strengths and weaknesses of initial teacher training in this area in as positive a context as possible. The aim was to choose examples with a focus on practice that may be transferable to other institutions. Transferability is used here on the basis of '*fit*' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Gomm et al. 2000:5), where other institutions may learn from similarities in context.

With the idea of best fit in mind, this case study aims to provide an example that initial teacher trainers may draw on within their own context. Bassey's concept of '*fuzzy generalisations*' (Bassey, 2003:200-201) underpins some of the findings. Following this concept, the researcher needs to check the findings with the participants and then state what she believes to be significant in this case study with an emphasis on what may be applicable to other initial teacher training environments.

Rather than the more traditional and positivist rooted concept of validity, Bassey's (2003) concepts of best estimate of trustworthiness fits this particular case study well (Bassey, 2003:119). Using his tests for trustworthiness (Bassey, 2003:118), the researcher has had prolonged engagement, over the past two years, with the data sources and has engaged in persistent observation of the emerging issues. The raw data has been checked with participants and triangulated through different sources, including documentation. The findings have been challenged through the usual supervision procedures, through presentations to peers and through papers and presentations to professional, national and international conferences.

### 3.2 Data Collection

The data collection took place over an extended period of a year, between June 2004 and June 2005. During this time the researcher undertook an analysis of international, national and local documentation and policy in order to examine the framework that underpinned practice. The fieldwork involved fifty-eight participants in four schools and four Higher Education Institutions. This included twenty-three individual semi-structured interviews with trainers and trainees. Trainees also participated in five focus group interviews, four classroom observations, and recording experiences in reflective diaries.

Initial contact with the prospective institutions was made through 'gatekeepers' (Walker, 1978; Burgess, 1984; Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:59). It was important that the 'gatekeepers' were senior managers so that they had the authority to give permission for participation in the study. As both Higher Education Institutions and schools are hierarchical organisations, it was important to identify and involve the right senior person from the beginning.

The key informants were therefore either directors of the training programmes in the Higher Education Institutions or school co-ordinators, who are responsible for professional development within the schools. In schools, the researcher found that it was more effective to approach the school co-ordinators directly rather than the head teachers. In two schools, where the head teachers were the initial contact, it slowed the process, and neither of these schools became involved in the final research.

The initial contact consisted of an e-mail with an attached information sheet (cf Appendix Five). The information sheet was designed to give a basic outline of the proposed research and some professional details of the researcher. The latter were included in order to state the credentials of the researcher. In this way, the 'insider' status was transparent from the



very beginning. The sheet also contained the estimated time commitment. This was potentially an important factor in the decision-making process. It also gave the researcher strict guidelines for the length of interviews and visits (Butcher, 2001).

A telephone conversation and initial visit followed the e-mail. This allowed prospective participants to ask for clarification or seek further details. These 'gatekeepers' negotiated access with other colleagues and trainees. Making personal contact and persuading key people of the value and validity of the research proved crucial in gaining access to the schools and Higher Education Institutions. Throughout the data collection process, contact with the participants was maintained through face-to-face contact and e-mail. This kept them informed and allowed for easy two-way communication. In School 2 meeting informally with the school co-ordinator after each visit resulted in an open-ended invitation to visit the school. A chance visit to confirm a classroom observation with a trainee in the English department led to meeting the science mentor and trainee who became involved in subsequent interviews and observations.

The potential for professional development was another key factor in gaining access. The participating trainers appreciated the possibility of using involvement in the research as part of their training and awareness raising programme (Richardson, 2004).

A final step in the process was feedback. The researcher's prior experience created sensitivity to issues of feedback. There is a strong tendency, especially with stressed professionals to hear only negative comments (Burgess, H., 1985). The issue of bilingualism can be a contentious area and the researcher was careful not to make practitioners feel defensive by implying deficiency in practice. However, honest feedback is essential if the research is to remain valid and ethical. Informal feedback occurred as an on-going process during the data collection period. This contributed ideas to future



interviews (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:83). Formal feedback sessions occurred during the data analysis as part of validating the research findings from the participants' point of view (Gitlin et al., 1992:28).

### **3.2.i Methods of data collection**

The variety of data collection methods allowed for triangulation of emerging evidence. Triangulation involved comparing and contrasting policies and documentation with verbal reports of practice in interviews and reflective diaries as well as observations in classrooms. Throughout the entire data collection process, it was possible to employ both '*within methods*' by analysing different data sources from within a given institution and '*between methods*' triangulation (Denzin, 1970), where ideas across institutions and various levels of participants were examined.

#### **3.2.i.a Semi-structured interviews**

This study involved twenty three individual semi-structured interviews in the four participating schools and the four Higher Education Institutions. The numbers and precise roles of participants are shown in the table 3.3. below. The interviews involved fourteen females and nine males, which reflects the gender imbalance in initial teacher training generally. Only three of these participants considered themselves to be bilingual, although one other trainee understood his mother's language.

Nature of data collection	Number and role of participants	Gender Linguistic status
Semi-structured interviews	• 4 directors of PGCE	• 2 female 2 male. All monolingual
20 audiotaped	• 4 subject lecturers English; Maths MFL; Science	• 3 female 1 male All monolingual
3 from notes taken during the interview	• 4 school co-ordinators	• 2 female 2 male 1 bilingual 3 monolingual
Transcribed and entered into N6 software.	• 4 EAL co-ordinators	• 3 female 1 male 1 bilingual 3 monolingual
Coded and analysed in N6	• 3 mentors English; Maths; Science	• 1 female 2 male All monolingual
	• 4 trainees English; Geography; History; MFL	• 3 female 1 male 1 bilingual 3 monolingual

*Table 3.3 Details of individual semi-structured interviews*  
*Key:- MFL - modern foreign languages*

The main purpose of the interviews was to give participants a voice and elicit their attitudes, beliefs, experience, knowledge, and strategies in relation to bilingualism and its implications for initial teacher training. These interviews helped in the exploration of why particular strategies were adopted. A qualitative, semi-structured interview schedule (cf Appendix Four) rather than a highly structured approach was chosen as the less formal structure was more appropriate for the purpose of encouraging open discussion (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:88; Hammersley, 1999). This was particularly important given the potentially sensitive nature of the topic under discussion. It allowed for flexibility of approach and rearranging key questions in order to pursue the particular thoughts of individual participants.

It was important when conducting interviews to adhere to basic codes of conduct in order to maintain a professional relationship. Punctuality, mode of dressing, efficiency with



technology, and clear focussed questioning, convey strong messages about the researcher. In time-pressured environments, time-management is crucial if relationships are to remain good. These conventions help build a relationship of mutual trust and respect, laying the foundations for more open discussion. Without trust, it is difficult to convince participants of more sensitive aspects of the research, such as confidentiality and anonymity. All these factors play an important part of what Hitchcock and Hughes (1989:88) describe as the researcher effect.

As the topic of this research addresses social justice issues, there is a strong element of analysing institutional and individual values and attitudes. Participants may well be tempted to respond in the most socially acceptable way rather than giving negative answers that may reflect their day-to-day experiences more accurately (Halliday, 2002). Taking previous professional experiences into account, it was not realistic for the researcher to take a neutral stance on the values associated with bilingualism. By following carefully planned themes and questions, the researcher endeavoured to encourage participants to expand on their own ideas. A primary aim was to enter into the interview as a partner in dialogue in order to elicit attitudes and values as well as knowledge and understanding (Halliday, 2002).

Once there was agreement to participate, access for individual interviews with school co-ordinators was straightforward. In three out of the four schools, it was the school co-ordinator who took the final decision. They were keen to assist in this particular field of research as they perceived the potential for professional development and welcomed the opportunity to share ideas and practice. As Stenhouse (1975) noted, teachers often welcome opportunities to talk about their work and professional understandings. This was certainly true in these three cases.



However, the fourth co-ordinator was more reticent as he was new to the post in September 2004. He did not respond to the request for an interview until March 2005. Another colleague had taken the decision to allow the school to participate. As a consequence, this interview required a little time to establish relationships. At the end of the interview, the interviewee breathed a sigh of relief. This suggested the potential underlying anxiety that could affect the responses in the interview. The researcher needs to be constantly aware of their effect on the process of data collection (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:88). Particularly with potentially politically sensitive issues, such as bilingualism, it is important to question whether the responses of participants are tailored to meet the perceived requirements of the researcher.

Some of the anxiety displayed in this research was associated with the desire to appear 'politically correct' in using acceptable terminology or raising particular issues. In School 2, the school co-ordinator expressed her reticence about connecting EAL to ethnicity and race.

*'I am almost loath to say it but there is almost a race issue here.'*

(School 2, School Co-ordinator, 1.110-111)

Participants also added personal asides and observations in an attempt to show a wider understanding. The school co-ordinator in School 4 talked about his knowledge of local businesses whilst in HEI 2 the participants talked about their own earlier teaching experiences. These were revealing in terms of terminology used and background knowledge and is analysed further in the data analysis.

The individual interviews proved useful in terms of a general overview of school policies and strategies for initial teacher training. For this reason, they were the first interviews conducted in each school. They formed a basis for comparison and triangulation with the

other perspectives explored. The school co-ordinators recognised this possibility for contradiction or consolidation. For instance, one commented,

*'One of the things that has come out and is very much part of the training and hopefully, trainee teachers take away, ... they will probably contradict me of course this afternoon, when they are talking to you, is that the cognitive challenge in the work being presented to EAL pupils has to still be there.'*

(School Co-ordinator, School 2, 1.407-411)

In fact, the trainees, across subject specialisms, strongly confirmed the positive training offered by this school (Focus Group 2) as did the director of the HEI involved with the school (HEI 3, Director, 1.92-94; 1.101-103).

As mentioned previously, the school co-ordinators facilitated access to other colleagues and trainees. In this way, they played a key role in the successful completion of the data collection in schools.

The school co-ordinators all referred to their use of 'experts' in initial teacher training. This occasionally included experts outside of the school, for example, the Local Authority adviser or advisory teacher in School 2. However, the main expertise lay in the co-ordinators for English as an additional language within the schools. Interviews with these co-ordinators helped verify and triangulate data elicited from the school co-ordinators, mentors, and trainees.

The EAL co-ordinators were all keen to share their thoughts and experiences. They clearly supported research in this area and were all passionate about their jobs and their desire to promote better initial teacher training. They gave generously of their time and invited the



researcher to observe and talk to the pupils. Three of the interviews took place after school as this was the most convenient time for the participants. The fourth happened during school hours, as the participant was occupied fully during break-times and after school with homework and revision classes. This acted as another example of the need for tight time management in terms of interviewing busy professional participants.

Although very loyal to the schools, these co-ordinators represented a slightly outsider viewpoint. All worked in different classrooms with a range of subject teachers. This gave them a practical overview of what was actually happening in relation to pupils with English as an additional language and bilingual pupils. In this way, they provided a different perspective from the school co-ordinators.

All the participating EAL co-ordinators were directly involved with initial teacher training within their own schools. Two had links with the local Higher Education Institutions, where they contributed to training to a wider number of trainees. This contrasted with findings in the Open University research undertaken for the Teacher Training Agency in 2003, where EAL co-ordinators felt excluded from the initial teacher training process (Sinka and Butcher, 2004).

The English as an additional language co-ordinators gave the researcher access to pupils. However, the decision was taken early on in the planning process to exclude formal pupil interviews from the data collection. As Wolcott (1999:137) advises, it is important to acknowledge reasons for exclusions as well as inclusions from the start. The rationale behind this exclusion was that pupils are not providers of initial teacher training, although clearly they play a key role in school experiences for trainees.



Nevertheless, it was helpful in terms of fleshing out the context of the schools to have opportunities for tracking and observing pupils in three out of the four schools. Informal contact while tracking pupils and talking to individuals in the specialist 'English as an additional language' rooms, offered good opportunities to note pupils' perceptions and their attitudes to their experiences in the school.

The mentors proved the most difficult to access and to interview. School 1 could not identify a mentor who would feel confident to discuss this aspect of their work. This further reinforced the school co-ordinator's statement that the school acknowledged this was not a strong area. In School 3, the school co-ordinator was new to the post and then left before the end of the fieldwork. Without the school co-ordinator's support, the researcher's approaches to individuals came to nothing. It was through the active support of the school co-ordinators in Schools 2 and 4 that three mentors became involved.

Despite arranging times to allow for half an hour interviews, other duties, such as departmental meetings and interviews for new members of staff, curtailed the research interviews in two out of the three cases. Both these interviews also took place in busy departmental offices. This meant taking notes of the interviews rather than recording them on a tape-recorder.

The researcher was fully aware of the importance of place in interviewing (Wolcott, 1999). Clearly, meeting two of the mentors in the departmental offices was not ideal for audio-taping. Faced with the practicality of an unrecorded interview or none at all, there was little option. Interestingly, because the place was selected by the mentors, they felt fully relaxed and some rich data emerged. There was no need or time for a conversational warm up period (Stenhouse, 1975) with the result that the interviews were swift and to the point.

This experience raised questions as to the impact of time on the mentor's capacity to give detailed attention to individual Standards. Brookes (2000) highlights the problems of lack of time for professional discussion during the training period in the pressurised culture of schools. The impact of time on the training process is further supported by Edwards and Protheroe (2003) in their research in primary schools.

Despite the school co-ordinators' expectation that the mentors would deal with the detail of the Standards, the mentors seemed to rely on the whole school training and the Higher Education Institutions for input into specific Standards. In School 4, the mentor expected the class teacher to give details of individual pupils to the trainees. In fact, in the lessons observed, this was working effectively as a strategy.

The choice of interviewees at the Higher Education Institutions depended partly on status. It was important to interview the directors of the initial teacher training programmes in order to establish the generic overview and the underpinning philosophy of the training provided. The interviews with the subject lecturers allowed for a detailed exploration of the programmes. The subject specialism of the lecturers reflected those of the trainees and mentors interviewed in the schools in order to allow for cross referencing and triangulation of ideas from the university, school, and trainee perspective.

Another factor in interviewing subject specialists was the claim by the directors that details for the specified Standards were delivered through the subject specialism. The directors acknowledged that the brief inputs into the generic professional development programmes provide only a token coverage. It is crucial that topics, such as learning to teach bilingual pupils, form an integral part of subject specific training.



Interviews with the directors and subject specialists within the HEIs were easy to arrange, as the participants were sympathetic to the potential difficulties of access during the research process from their own personal experiences. They also saw it as part of their role to support research into initial teacher training. Consequently, they gave freely of their time and expressed enthusiasm and interest about the research topic. Once again, the interviews took place at their chosen venue, encouraging a relaxed atmosphere as they were in their own environment. It also reduced their time commitment, as the researcher spent the time travelling to them.

Four individual interviews took place with trainees. Three of the trainees volunteered to be interviewed individually, which meant that they felt relaxed. The fourth trainee was asked by the school co-ordinator and felt that she could not refuse.

The first trainee engaged in a telephone interview, where she was very open and honest about her lack of training and knowledge in relation to bilingual pupils. This experience has been supported by two diary returns from other trainees. Their perceived lack of knowledge, experience and practical training sprang directly from the context of the school placements, where there were no identified pupils with English as an additional language.

The second trainee volunteered to expand on the notes made in the diary issued during a focus group interview (cf. Appendix 3). He talked enthusiastically about lessons where he had stimulated discussion about the importance of language to individuals and groups. He used the interview as a reflective conversation, (Schön, 1983), analysing the lessons as he spoke and discussing possible improvements.

*'The starter was, imagine that you've been taken over by  
a character called Zippolean and he's decided to change  
the language... But it suddenly dawned on me that it*



*invited pupils to reflect on how important language is to them...Although this had not been an explicit aim, I now realise, this is possibly something they got from it.'*

(School 4, Trainee 2, 1 28-54)

Although he understood another language in addition to English and used it passively on a regular basis when listening to his mother, he did not consider himself bilingual. This personal experience of operating in two languages made him very sympathetic to the whole spectrum of bilingual pupils within the school. The interview, therefore served as a learning experience for him within a reflective practitioner framework (Pollard, 2002).

The third trainee was a French national, teaching French and German. She also spoke Russian but did not consider herself bilingual. Operating in what she considered to be her weaker language, English, she was very nervous and this curtailed her initial responses. Gradually, as she became less self-conscious, she gave freely of her personal experiences both in France and in England. Her own multi-lingualism made her very aware of the spread of pupils and the difficulty of differentiating sufficiently in terms of teaching and learning strategies. Talking about multilingual pupils whose families originated from Somalia, she explained,

*'In your class, you have very bright kids. They are even bilingual...in German and French at Key Stage 5...I am really aware of it but in the classroom, it is really hard in the planning to cover it.'*

(School 3, Trainee 3, 1.119-126)

Despite having carefully prepared the key questions for interviews, the researcher became aware during the transcription process of the occasional leading comment. For example,

with reference to bilingualism in the school, the researcher asked, '*They don't see it as a threat?*' Trainee 2 then simply replied, '*No*' (School 4, Trainee 2, l. 117).

This provides an example of poor practice in terms of a leading and closed question that Evans (2002:121) included as part of the '*suggestability*' issue. When operating interviews on the basis of partners in conversation, it is often the subsidiary questions that lead to such errors. Dealing with a potentially sensitive area, such as bilingualism, it is important in the analysis of conversations to be aware of '*suggestability*' (Evans, 2002:121). This raises questions about the reliability of the answers. Awareness of this possibility led to the decision to collect evidence in a variety of ways. It is also crucial to bear this in mind when analysing the conversations.

### **3.2. i.a.i Issues arising from the semi-structured interviews**

As Burgess (1985a) highlighted, it was important for the interviewer to manage the interview. This proved particularly pertinent in terms of time management for all participants. The researcher was constantly aware of other pressures, such as further meetings, next lessons and urgent administrative tasks. It was crucial in terms of good relations not to over run the specified time.

The other management challenge, particularly in relation to the interviews within the Higher Education sector, was interrupting the flow of participants in order to keep the interview on track. This was especially difficult when the topic that had side-tracked the speaker was interesting. The science lecturer at HEI 2, talked at length about her own research which was highly relevant to the research topic. However, the director of HEI 4 described his own research, which whilst interesting was not directly relevant. This may have been important to the participants in terms of establishing their academic credentials.



Throughout the semi-structured interviews, there was always delicate balance between allowing someone to follow a train of thought, which may lead to pertinent comments, and allowing the interview time to disappear in irrelevant sidelines. As experienced researchers themselves, the participants from the HEIs understood polite interruptions and expected to respond to a semi-structured set of questions.

The counter-side to this was the temptation to talk too much as the interviewer. This was particularly pertinent with reticent trainees. There was a danger of moving into trainer mode, especially if statements were made that showed a misconception or could potentially provoke interesting debate. This temptation occurred more in the focus group interviews, discussed in the next section, than in the individual interviews.

### 3.2. i.b Focus group interviews

Focus group interviews seemed particularly appropriate for trainees, who may have felt threatened by individual interviews. Nominal groups, whose members already have a common background, were chosen. This helped in the exploration of a set of specific issues (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). The table below provides a summary of the focus groups involved.

Focus Group	Venue	No:in group	Common feature
FG 1	Partner school	12	School experience
FG 2	Partner school	07	School and HEI
FG 3	Partner school	02	School and subject
FG 4	Partner school	04	School and HEI
FG 5	HEI 1	12	Subject and HEI
<b>Total no: trainees</b>		<b>37</b>	

*Table 3.4 Summary of focus group details*

All the groups consisted of trainees who already knew each other, which encouraged them to relax and exchange ideas freely. In the case of four of the groups, they had different subject specialisms but were all training in the same school.



Four out of the five interviews took place in the partner schools. This choice of venues enabled the trainees to feel comfortable with each other and their surroundings, maximising the possibility of interaction (Morgan, 1988:60). The venues also diminished any possible hierarchical status of the researcher as she now became the guest. This was especially evident in School 2, where the trainees had regular professional development sessions in the same room each week. They offered coffee to the researcher and chatted informally prior to the formal interview. This established an air of informality that led straight into personal experiences of bilingualism and relating them to classroom experience.

*'My family are bilingual...I'm not... Welsh, English.*

*I've got students in my tutorial who I did not know*

*were bilingual, English as a second language. I didn't*

*know about it until about three weeks ago, when I*

*started to ask to see if I could pinpoint some of these*

*standards and three of them I would never have guessed.*

*English is their second language. It's amazing,*

*absolutely amazing.'*

(FG 2, maths trainee, l. 34-39)

This statement reveals personal experience and attitudes to bilingualism, as well as the importance of the Standards in focussing awareness towards pupils with English as an additional language. Without a specific focus, trainees may well misinterpret the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils.

The fifth group (FG 5) consisted of modern foreign language trainees in one of the participating Higher Education Institutions (HEI 1). Once more, the choice of venue meant that the participants felt relaxed. The homogeneity of this group led to a more detailed focus on classroom practice in the confines of the subject rather than the more

generic issues raised by the mixed subject groups. Trainees were able to comment on grammatical issues without needing to explain their observations.

*'What was interesting was they would often make mistakes that were related to their own language. Some of the languages, I was aware of, the Russian and the Slavonic languages, and they'd miss out articles because there aren't any. But, because the groups were mixed, other bilingual students from other language backgrounds, would correct them...So, that was quite a rich experience.'*

(FG 5, Trainee 3, 1.69-76)

This reflects a detailed subject analysis and portrays a positive reaction in terms of commenting on the '*rich experience*' offered by the multilingual class.

Another significant factor in the response of this group was size. In terms of peer interaction and building on each other's ideas, the smaller groups of four and seven participants allowed for more natural, social, interaction. However, there was a natural exchange of anecdotes and experiences that demonstrates the power of a focus group to act as a strong training model based on peer learning that may lead to consciousness-raising (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999:19).

Focus Group 3 (FG 3), with only two participants, was not ideal in terms of what strictly constitutes a group. However, the discussion flowed well as they had both the school and the subject specialism, English, in common. A feature of this interview was the difference that emerged between the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) trainee and the other, who was undertaking the Graduate teaching Programme (GTP). The PGCE trainee was able to locate some of his thinking in theory. Being in the school for a shorter period



seemed to have galvanised him to take initiative and find out about bilingual pupils, in order to complete the activities required by the university. The GTP trainee felt that she had time to explore such details later.

It transpired that they both had an interest in bilingualism through family members, who lived or worked abroad. As the interview took place in the earlier stages of their training at the end of the Autumn Term 2004, neither had much idea about strategies in the classroom. Both felt that they would concentrate on this later in the course. They were both at the stage of concentrating on their own actions as teachers rather than considering individual pupil learning (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:182). One advantage of this very small group was the equal share of the conversation between the two. Interestingly, they tended to address their comments to the researcher rather than to each other, even when responding to the other trainee's comments. This made the researcher aware, yet again, of the researcher effect (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989:88).

Focus Groups 4 (FG 4) and 2 (FG 2), with four and seven trainees respectively, seemed ideal for encouraging natural exchanges between participants. In FG 2, two trainees, who were training to become physical education teachers, discussed the use of visual clues and the issues surrounding theory lessons. This was picked up by the three English trainees, who then discussed working with support staff. These exchanges allowed the researcher to become more of an objective observer who intervened from time to time rather than being seen as the leader of the discussion, which happened in the two larger groups.

The larger groups, FG 1 and FG 5, were more structured and formal. FG 1 was especially formal. Three key factors contributed to this. Firstly, it was a large group with the school co-ordinator present in addition to the researcher. This meant that the trainees had two figures of 'authority' to consider when making their responses. Secondly, it took place in



November 2004 near the beginning of their first school experience. Therefore, the trainees were not as relaxed as the ones later on in the training cycle. Thirdly, it was the researcher's first encounter with a focus group interview.

However, half way through the session, the sequential order broke down and trainees started to interact to one another. The process of peer exchange began to take hold. The discussion had to be controlled once more by the researcher in order to include all the trainees and keep within the tight time schedule imposed. This session took place after school as a formal part of the professional development programme and was followed by another input.

For FG 4 attendance was optional. Only four out of a possible eight trainees decided to participate. This ensured lively debate with equal participation and good interchange of ideas, making it the most thought-provoking group. The four participants knew each other well. They openly admitted '*learning a huge amount*' (FG 4, Trainee 2, l.132) since they started school experience in this particular school. One member was willing to be provocative, as in her statement,

*'I have great sympathy with kids who think of school  
as interfering with their education.'*

(FG 4, Trainee 4, l.639-641)

Although she addressed the researcher directly, it was easy to deflect it to the others who continued by discussing high attaining bilingual pupils.

The same trainee stimulated a reaction by stating, '*You can't engage in critical thinking without the language*' (FG 4, Trainee 4, l.585). As a mathematician, she was exploring the language of maths as well as English with all pupils. Later, in the maths lesson conducted

by this trainee and observed by the researcher (Fieldnotes, 20.04.06), division was a key concept. A diagram ready on the white board portrayed a visual image of division. The trainee used the word several times and wrote it on the board. She then provided several more examples of division and required the class to talk about how they did division. This reinforced the mathematical concept as well as the vocabulary relating to the process of dividing numbers. All four trainees took up the discussion about language and thought in a lively way that stimulated further ideas about bilingual pupils and pupils with EAL. The interaction between the four became intense and would suggest that a small number is ideal for a focus group discussion.

However, despite the larger size of twelve in FG 5, there is evidence of trainees referring back to past comments with phrases such as '*As you say*' and looking at the person concerned. This helped build on the anecdotes and examples to reinforce key points about the trainees' knowledge, attitudes and values. There were some gaps in the flow at certain points in all the focus groups. The dilemma, as the interviewer, was when and how to prompt without interrupting important thinking time for the participants.

All the focus group sessions were perceived by the school co-ordinators and course leaders as part of the trainees' professional development programme. Contributing to the trainees' professional development in this way helped relationships with senior managers in the school. In a small way, it helped reinforce the circle of research informing teaching and vice versa and may help contradict the criticisms highlighted by Whitty (2006: 161) of lack of relevance to schools and lack of involvement of teachers in the research process.

However, it did slightly confuse the researcher's role in terms of the trainees. Once discussions started, this did not appear to be a problem, as only two of the total thirty seven trainees seemed inhibited by the process. A distinct pragmatic advantage for the



researcher was that trainees, in four out of the five groups, felt compelled to attend unless they had a very good reason, such as refereeing football matches in the case of FG 2 or attending job interviews or other lecture commitments in FG 5.

As well as a data gathering activity, the focus groups acted as a consciousness raising exercise (Barbour and Kitzenger, 1999:19; Wilkinson, 2004). This was especially evident when trainees exchanged specialist subject ideas.

The researcher wanted to concentrate on active listening rather than imposing ideas on the group (Barbour and Kitzenger, 1999:13). It was important to remain in as passive a role as possible in order to access the trainees' opinions and attitudes. During the transcription process, the researcher noted that she had made value judgements on occasions. One example was when a trainee in FG 5 (l.112-113) described the exclusion of a bilingual pupil from modern foreign language lessons. It was difficult not to react. On this occasion, the neutral facilitator role, advocated by Stenhouse (1975), was broken. Such a role is impossible to maintain by dint of the very questions asked and the desire to create an open and sharing atmosphere. Although this did not occur in these focus groups, the researcher was prepared to intervene if prejudiced statements had arisen and not been challenged by other members of the group.

Access to HEI 3 sprang from a focus group interview in School 2, where the trainees recommended contacting the director of their course. This illustrates the mutual exchange and benefits possible from the process of focus group interviews that encourage an exchange of information and ideas (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999:3).

Overall, the focus groups worked well producing insights through group interaction in a relaxed environment that encouraged openness and thoughtful responses (Morgan,



1988:19). In fact, they proved a useful training tool as well as an effective data collecting device.

### **3.2. i.c Diary evidence**

Two categories of diaries contributed to this study. Firstly, there are diaries, detailed in Appendix Three, issued to trainees, who were involved with the participating institutions. Secondly, the researcher kept two diaries. One recorded notes from the fieldwork and acted as a record of visits and interviews. The other was a personal reflective diary which recorded key ideas and developments throughout the three years of the research (Glaze, 2002). This diary proved invaluable in terms of tracing the development of ideas and tracking the process of learning.

There were sixty diaries distributed to trainees. All were handed personally to the trainees. Significantly, the six returns were from trainees who had a more extended contact in the form of an interview or a lesson observation. The purpose of the diaries was to give participants an opportunity to reflect on their experiences over a period of time and to provide evidence of attitudes beliefs and strategies that may be employed in the training process.

The format of the dairies was carefully considered and discussed with one HEI trainer; one school trainer and a newly qualified teacher. The researcher decided that an open diary would not work as trainees were likely to need prompts. A full questionnaire was rejected as too onerous, especially as it would be in addition to assessed activities. The final format (cf Appendix 3) covered six topics with minimal subsequent prompts. The intention was to focus on key areas from the classroom through to the personal experiences of the trainee. The diary was reproduced in A5 format as a small booklet in the hope that trainees would

not feel overwhelmed. It was also available in e-mail form, which was used by three of the respondents.

The management of the process of recovering the diaries proved problematic as only six out of sixty were returned. On reflection, the researcher should have insisted on completion at the time of distribution when the trainees seemed to respond positively to them. However, the argument for allowing time for reflection was compelling. This is a prime example of a conflict of interests and roles (Spradley, 1979:29). The conflict was between wanting to collect data for the research whilst being aware of the training potential for the trainees engaging in the interview, lesson observation and diary completion activities.

The diary activity for trainees was unsuccessful in terms of the quantity of returns and the aim of making them part of the training process. The intention was that the diaries would encourage a reflective response and a longitudinal view as trainees had them for approximately a term. Two respondents replied in detail, providing useful evidence. Two expressed concern that they still felt unprepared in this area and unable to comment on certain sections in the diary. Two were partially completed with some helpful comments. Despite the limited number the trainees' diaries have contributed to the data base.

Feedback from the trainees to school co-ordinators and lecturers in the Higher Education Institutions indicated that they felt under pressure to complete other work. They were unable to prioritise time to complete these diaries that were not part of their formal assessment. The activity, therefore, shed light on the pressures trainees felt and the difficulties of prioritising individual standards. Trainers appeared to approve the potential use of the diaries and reminded trainees through e-mail and in professional development sessions both at school and HEI level.



The lack of response might indicate an assessment-led training where time does not allow for reflective activities beyond those proscribed by the institutions. This experience may well support Pring's concern that the pace set emphasises content over the process of reflection (Pring, 2000:23). This experience may indicate a lack of reflective process which would give cause for concern in terms of what constitutes learning. If this was the cause for the lack of response, then it raises the question discussed in the literature review and the data analysis of whether a competence model is the most appropriate for initial teacher education.

However, an alternative reason may be that the trainees perceived the research as an add-on that was not directly relevant to the training process. This may account for the fact that the six respondents were all engaged in individual interviews as well as the focus groups. This additional participation may show their willingness to engage with the issue in the first place, or a wish to assist the researcher, following a more prolonged association with the research. Either or both of these rationales may have led to more confidence in filling in the diaries and to a greater appreciation of the relevance to their own training.

The disappointing response underlines the complexity of the research process (Redford, 2006: 187). The multiple variables that interconnect make it difficult to establish one reason for the apparent failure of this research activity. The analysis of the process and the possible cause and effects can, however, prove a useful learning tool for future planning. At a micro level, this experience poses the question raised by Hammersley (2003) as to whether educational research can or should be educative. The reflections considered above are an example of the questioning and thoughts that the researcher noted in her personal diaries.



The researcher kept two personal diaries. One consisted of field-notes written manually during and after visits, with selected entries electronically stored on the computer. The second records personal thoughts and feelings elicited by the research process. Both are reflective and provide a vehicle for tracking the emergence and development of ideas throughout the three year research period. Concerns and sudden insights run concurrently and allow for further contemplation (Lovey, 2004).

These diaries played an integral role in the informal writing process, described by (Woods, 1985: 86-106). Re-reading the thoughts captured in the field-note diary and the personal one allowed for a developmental, long-term view. It also revealed the '*person*' in the study, which Cotterill and Letherby (1994) stressed as a pivotal component of the research process. As discussed in 3.1.v., the researcher was explicit about previous experience and used this to gain trust and respect in order to acquire access and whilst conducting the research.

### **3.2. i.d Classroom Observations**

The classroom observations, detailed below, took place in School 2 for the English and science lessons and School 4 for the maths lessons. Each trainee was observed once by the researcher. Prior to each observation there was a brief discussion where the trainees talked about the nature of the class and the lesson planned, and the researcher shared the criteria with the trainees.

By design, two of the lessons were with Key Stage 3 pupils, aged 11 to 14. Two were with Key Stage 4 pupils aged 15 to 16. The trainees chose the classes so that they felt comfortable with an observation. The researcher chose the age spread in order to give a picture across the secondary age range.

Although the number of observations is very limited, it proved a helpful strategy in terms of understanding the school context and providing an insight into the pressures felt by trainees in the classroom. There are insufficient observations to draw any conclusions from the data collected but the observations helped establish the contextual factors without which research is *'likely to be unreliable'* (Radford, 2006:181).

Nature of data collection	Research Methodology	Purpose	Participants	Gender Language
Classroom observation	Detailed field-notes, allowing triangulation of policy, practice and views expressed by participants	Analysis of practice rather than rhetoric. Observation of pupil reaction. Evidence of situated learning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 Maths PGCE trainees</li> <li>• 1 English GTP trainee</li> <li>• 1 Science GTP trainee</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 female monolingual</li> <li>• 1 female monolingual</li> <li>• 1 female monolingual</li> </ul>

*Table 3.5 Details of classroom observations*

The limited number of observations made the idea of a formal observation schedule, such as Flanders (1970) suggested, unsuitable for this research. It was not appropriate to adopt a 'scientific' approach that enumerated interactions and allowed for statistical analysis. These observations were more holistic, taking the entire environment into consideration, as their purpose was to explore the learning context rather than specific features of classroom interaction.

It was important to acknowledge from the outset that these observations differed in purpose from the observations undertaken by the researcher during Ofsted inspections or during initial teacher training school experiences. These were not evaluative observations in terms of the individual trainee's performance. Rather the purpose was to evaluate specific processes and strategies.

Before undertaking the classroom observations, the researcher established specific criteria, with the explicit rationale of clarifying precise points of focus. In busy classrooms with



only short periods of time available, it is important to have clear aims for observation. The key criteria were as follows.

- The trainee's lesson planning
- The trainee's knowledge of the pupils
- Awareness of linguistic diversity and expectations of trainee and pupils
- Classroom displays
- Specific language strategies employed during the lesson
- Teacher and pupil interaction
- Pupil to pupil interaction

Prior to the lesson the researcher asked permission to look at the trainees' planning. From these plans she noted any differentiation and evidence of knowledge of individual pupils. Pre- and post- lesson discussions with trainees also helped to corroborate this aspect of the trainees' knowledge, awareness and expectations in relation to bilingual pupils.

Before the pupils entered the room, notes were made about classroom displays in order to establish whether they reflected the multi-lingual nature of the class. However, the trainees appeared to have a very limited input into display material at this point in their school placement.

During the lesson, a key focus was the use of specific strategies for bilingual pupils. This included noting non-verbal and verbal interactions between the trainee and the pupils. These provided indicators about the relationships between the trainee and the pupils, and the trainee's expectations of the pupils. The researcher also noted exchanges between pupils as an indicator of attitudes and relationships within the classroom.



The planning and the strategies employed acted as indicators of the trainees' detailed knowledge. This knowledge had two main aspects in terms of subject specialism and awareness of individual pupils. In terms of subject specialism, it was crucial for trainees to have considered in advance how they were conveying the key concepts and vocabulary in order to match these with the individual learners within their classroom.

If, as Pring (2000:23) suggests,

*'Teaching is a conscious effort to bridge the gap between  
the state of mind of the learner and the subject matter  
(the public forms of knowledge and understanding) which  
are to be learnt...,'*

(Pring, 2000:23)

then knowledge of individual learners becomes vital to the learning process. Trainees reported good levels of support from the schools in terms of individual pupil information, including use of languages other than English. The researcher was interested in how this data informed their lesson planning and execution; and how the trainees established a shared understanding that encourages education to proceed (Moon and Shelton-Mayes, 1994:178).

During the observations and the subsequent analysis, the researcher was aware that observations are highly influenced by personal expectations and values (Swann and Pratt, 2003:203). For example, the trainees observed were on their final school experience. At this stage in their training, the expectation was that trainees had moved beyond concentrating on their own teaching to considering the individual pupil needs (Furlong and Maynard, 1995: 182).

It would not have been appropriate to conduct the observations during the initial school experiences, when most trainees concentrate on their own teaching performance in terms of establishing rules, routines, and their own authority (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:181). The timing of the observation within the training cycle was a crucial consideration.

The observations were chosen to represent some of the key subject areas. Although they were limited in number, the observations helped to match theory to practice and gave insights into the complexity of the process facing initial teacher trainees in the field of learning to teach bilingual pupils.

Originally, the intention was to co-observe lessons with mentors. In practice, this was not possible, given timetable clashes. However, the researcher did discuss the classes observed with the mentors concerned and found it helpful to compare their comments with those of the trainees. For example, following the Year 8 maths lesson, the maths mentor in School 4 commented that the trainee was managing a difficult group well. He explained that the group dynamics were difficult because of the diversity of educational, emotional and linguistic needs, which confirmed the trainee's analysis and the researcher's observation.

This exemplifies the triangulation process conducted internally within institutions. The analysis of documentation provided another strand of evidence that could be used to compare and contrast information both within and between institutions.

### **3.2. i.e Documentation**

Each participating institution provided policies and course materials for analysis. This strengthened the triangulation in the study. It enabled the researcher to match written expectations and aims with the reality of the training received. The analysis also allowed for comparison between the national policy and the local interpretations.



The documentation was important in setting the context for the initial teacher training period. This context determined the framework for learning. The analysis was undertaken with a view to exploring whether the learning context conformed to a restrictive, reductionist model or provided an expansive, holistic environment. The analysis also concentrated on the key factors reflecting the specific Standards relating to bilingual pupils.

### **3.2. i.f Problems encountered during the data collection**

In March 2004, eight schools were approached by e-mail with an accompanying information sheet (cf Appendix Five). The process of e-mailing key senior teachers with details of the research, followed by telephone calls failed completely in two cases.

Two other schools expressed initial interest. One of these schools withdrew on the grounds of the externally imposed pressure of an Ofsted inspection, which proved particularly gruelling. The school co-ordinator felt staff would not respond well to further investigation into their practice at that precise point in time. This was a classic example of external pressures negating the will to take part in research and the importance of the timing of the research project.

The head-teacher at the fourth school was willing to consider participating but access faltered at the practitioner level. The school co-ordinator and mentors did not respond to e-mails and telephone calls. This underlines the importance of contacting the right gate-keeper. Although the agreement of the head-teacher is crucial, participation depended on senior managers, who are actively involved in initial teacher training.

This experience demonstrated the potential barriers to access of external and internal pressures within schools. It also highlighted the importance of maintaining good relationships with key facilitators within the school (Stenhouse, 1984).



In the focus groups, difficulty arose, when trainees asked for the researcher's opinion. This happened in Focus Group 4 and Focus Group 5. The trainee in Focus Group 4 immediately apologised, acknowledging that researchers are not there to provide answers. However, in Focus Group 5, there was a conflict of interest. The researcher had agreed to do a presentation to the trainees. In a small way, this was a reward for the institutions involved (Lovey, 2004). However, this projected the researcher in the role of the expert, which risked impeding the researcher role.

With the observations, the class teacher in one of the schools emerged as more influential in the training process than the mentor. Fortunately, the class teacher was not offended by the researcher not approaching her directly. Under different circumstances, this could have led to difficulties. It raised awareness of the importance of establishing all the key training figures and ensuring everybody was contacted and well informed.

### **3.3 The process of data analysis**

The reading, writing and data collection process all fed into the data analysis as they contributed to the reflection and development of theory (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:32). The juxtaposition of these major activities proved crucial to the analysis process. It was important to establish a quick cross-referencing system that allowed information to flow from each of these areas.

Endnote, a bibliographic electronic storage system, was crucial to this process (Endnote 7, 2003). It offers the capacity to store and retrieve detailed references and notes. This facility allows a speedy recall of exact references. Entering detailed notes of reading meant that quotations and page references could be easily accessed and transferred to the relevant chapter. This led to an efficient cross-referencing to the literature that supported the data

analysis. This storage system was backed up on electronic disks and a traditional card system.

The data analysis process started with the transcriptions of individual and focus group interviews. Subsequently, the personal diaries, including field-notes and aspects of documentation were also added. On average, a forty-five minute interview took six hours to transcribe. This was a highly effective use of time as it forced the researcher to revisit the interviews in detail. Scripts were highlighted for overarching issues. Blue highlighting indicated positive contributions. Yellow highlighted comments with negative connotations. Pink drew attention to use of language. These initial categories were subjective but allowed the researcher to have an overview of the transcript and quick access to emerging key concepts and themes (Wilkinson, 2004).

The transcripts were then loaded into N6 software and coded (cf 3.3.ii.). Working with the initial codes, allowed for expansion, alteration, or omission of ideas. This '*open coding*' (Strauss, 1987) led to a more refined process of using categories to generate further conceptual frameworks (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:48; cf 3.2.ii.a.)

### **3.3. i The computational process for data analysis**

The computational environment used was developed by Richards and Richards in 1995. At that time it was called NUD-IST (Non-Numerical, Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorising). The up-dated program, used in this research, is referred to as N6. This software allows for storing, coding, and easy retrieval of the transcripts from the twenty-three semi-structured individual interviews and the five focus group interviews. The six diaries returned from the trainees were also entered into this data base.



The researcher considered the advantages and disadvantages of using a computer program and the benefits of the particular software. The warnings that using a computer software package could possibly distance the researcher from the data, (Opie, 2004:175-176), were noted but proved unfounded. The ease of access encouraged the researcher to constantly return to the scripts. Functions, such as memos, reports, and word searches on individual nodes encouraged an in-depth exploration of the data. The report function allowed a quick and efficient copying of key quotations with line references during the writing up process.

The danger of seeing quotations out of context was heeded. However, the small scale nature of the research allowed for a quick recall of the exact circumstances surrounding the citation. This is crucial as words taken out of context can have totally different meanings. For example, a quote from HEI 1

*'Well, what am I supposed to do about this EAL thing?'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.60)

taken out of context could be used as evidence of lack of understanding on the part of the lecturer, who was, in fact talking about a colleague in another department. The conversation explored how this situation had been dealt with. From a potentially negative sounding phrase, a positive strategy transpired. In finding this quotation, it was interesting to note that the original transcript with highlighting was used initially followed by the N6 report. This reflects the importance of using different methods for accessing key materials from the scripts.

One of the problems with the software is that it does not identify the coded parts of the transcripts. It is necessary to do a report to reveal the relevant code. In the example given above, it was more efficient to return to the original transcript. In fact, this was helpful as it meant the originals were in constant use alongside the computer software package. This

experience contradicted the warning given by Weitzman and Miles (1995: 252) that the tendency was to concentrate on the index system and not to see the coding in context.

The software threw up another issue of concern. This was the implied hierarchical structure of the tree node system. This system encourages the use of key nodes with branches attached to them. However, it was possible to use the tree nodes as an organisational tool and to ignore any implied hierarchy (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:176). It is crucial for the researcher to control the software and not be coerced into ways of working which are not compatible with the data analysis required (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:192).

An advantage of the N6 system was the comparatively easy process of re-coding, when the researcher rejected the initial tree nodes for a higher order set of nodes. The nodes allow categories to be specified either as independent topics, called free nodes, or as an interdependent framework, called tree nodes. Appendix Six gives details of the initial coding nodes and the final analysis nodes.

One of the major advantages of using the computer package was safe storage. The data analysis was stored on more than one computer, on a removable E disk, and on floppy disks. Another advantage was the easy cut and paste facility that allowed for constant readjustment and reconsideration of the original data. A further advantage was the ease of cross-referring data.

One disadvantage, that several researcher colleagues have confirmed, is the format of the reports. These are not attractively displayed and, if they are of moderate length, they cannot be amended in situ. NVivo2 became available after this research was already loaded into N6. Serious consideration was given to transferring the data to this newer



program. This would have been technically straightforward. However, after discussions with colleagues, the very limited benefits of a slightly more user friendly format did not warrant the time of learning and transferring to a new programme. All programs appear to have their own limitations and it seemed important to concentrate on the detailed analysis with the tools available.

Software is constantly updated. N7 appeared in March 2006. The important experience gained through using N6 is the confidence and skills that can be transferred to other updated software in the future.

As with any externally financed research programme, this research is time-limited by a regional studentship with the Open University of three years. The researcher was constantly aware of the need to prioritise activities in order to allow time for writing and completing the research to meet deadlines. These are also vital skills for any future work in research.

### **3.3. ii The process of transcribing and coding**

Personally transcribing the interviews as soon as possible after the conversation took place was a key part of the data analysis process. This allowed for direct recall and helped avoid misinterpretation where the recording was slightly indistinct. It was easy to miss vital small words, such as 'not', in a sentence, if the person is a quiet or very fast speaker.

The process of transcribing helped trigger ideas. These were immediately noted in a key issues file on the computer. This procedure, along with highlighting phrases in relation to positive or negative comments, use of language, and phrases worthy of further exploration, acted as an initial very broad coding activity. Later in the process, this helped quick access to key quotations, as described in the previous section.

The completed transcripts were then entered into N6 for more detailed coding. The coding developed into two free and eighty-three tree nodes. The free nodes were used to store data on the participating schools and Higher Education Institutions. This enabled quick recall of data relating for example to numbers of pupils and range of languages. The tree nodes (cf Appendix Six) allowed for comparison across all participating institutions and interviewees. The memo facility allows the researcher to note comments from different participants. By activating the report facility, these comments can be viewed as a whole. This allows the researcher to detect any patterns, trends or abnormalities.

### **3.3. ii.a The coding process**

Following Evans (2000) suggestion of thinking in terms of drawers, three major areas for coding emerged: Multilingual; Monolingual; Initial Teacher Training (cf Appendix Six). The Cartesian concept of dualism influenced the choice of potential opposing points of view. Therefore, multilingual and monolingual had the same sub-headings of knowledge and understanding; attitudes and values in order to allow comparison across categories of participants who considered themselves to be bi- or multilingual and those who were monolingual.

The Initial Teacher Training was sub-divided into holistic and fragmented in order to compare statements and attitudes that reflect these two opposing views of initial teacher training. As interviews progressed, the fragmented heading changed to atomistic and later to reductionist. The term reductionist more accurately describes the process dictated by a competence model of initial teacher training that insists on trainees meeting set national Standards. These categories acted as initial level coding and fed into the subsequent coding.



The second level coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) took place in the Autumn 2005. This framework gradually developed through the preparation of a presentation and writing of a paper for the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Conference held at University of Wales, Glamorgan, in September 2005 (Pearse, 2005).

**D-FRAMEWORK – SECOND LEVEL CODING**

**D1. DEFINITIONS**

- Analyse the nature of definitions of bilingualism and initial teacher training and how this impacts on the process and provision of training.

**D2. DEMANDS**

- Analyse the effects of government and school/HEI policies on respondents
- Analyse any differences in personal demand for example between bilingual and monolingual participants.

**D3. DEFICITS**

- Analyse gaps in knowledge about the benefits of bilingualism
- Examine possible deficit models in attitudes expressed by participants
- Analyse effects of competence model in terms of reinforcing a deficit model
- Examine the impact of lack of time, resources, and expertise mentioned by interviewees.

**D4. DICHOTOMIES OR DEBATES**

- Analyse respondents' views on the theory versus practice debate
- Examine the effect of the fragmented versus holistic approach according to the participants.

**D5. DEVELOPMENTS OR DIVIDENDS**

- Analyse strategies mentioned by the participants. Do these reinforce the deficit model or are there positive strategies that promote the benefits of bilingualism?
- Impact of personal histories and learning from peers.
- Impact of initiatives such as the Key Stage 3 strategy.

**D6. DESIRES**

- What role are the trainers playing at present? What do trainers need to improve the theory and practice in this field?
- What do trainees require in terms of support in this area?
- Analyse personal desires expressed by participants.
- Analyse any public desires conveyed in the documentation and policies.

**D7. DUMP**

- Contextual case studies arising from the interviews that may be used to illustrate findings.

**D8. DEDUCTIONS**

- Conclusions arising from the literature review and the data analysis.

*Table 3.6 Notes on the D-framework - second level coding*

The development of this framework proved energising in terms of the writing process. It proffered a possible structure for the data analysis chapters. As the writing and analysis continued, the framework became modified.

The concept of deficit emerged from the data as a first major category. Tickle's (2000:5) idea that deficits are opportunities for learning, resonated with the findings of this research and with much of the literature reviewed. The researcher questioned whether this was simply a personal construct feeding into the interpretation of the literature and evidence. Aware of the danger of '*suggestibility*' (Evans, 2002:120-134), the researcher checked carefully for evidence from participants. Deficit models abounded from the public demands through to personal discourses. This then became an important strand of the framework

The idea of dichotomies or debates flowed from the level one coding concerning theory and practice; holistic versus atomistic training; monolingual versus multilingual. It also emerged from the literature on initial teacher training with the tension between theory and practice and the present emphasis on a competence model.

Definitions as a heading sprang from reading the documentation as well as the interviews. The lack of clarity in use of terminology developed from the deficit category of coding and led to the question of causes for this confusion. Lack of accurate definition and lack of challenge to the predominant discourse seemed worth exploring further as part of the contextual understanding that forms the basis for initial teacher training in relation to bilingual pupils.

Despite the deficits, there were clear positive developments. It was important then to balance the deficits with dividends or positive developments.



The notion of demands came from the dialogues both with trainers and trainees. These demands split into public and personal demands. The public demands in terms of government and school policies dictate the discourse and context of training. The overall impression is one of a demands led training process. The personal demands conflicted at times with the public ones.

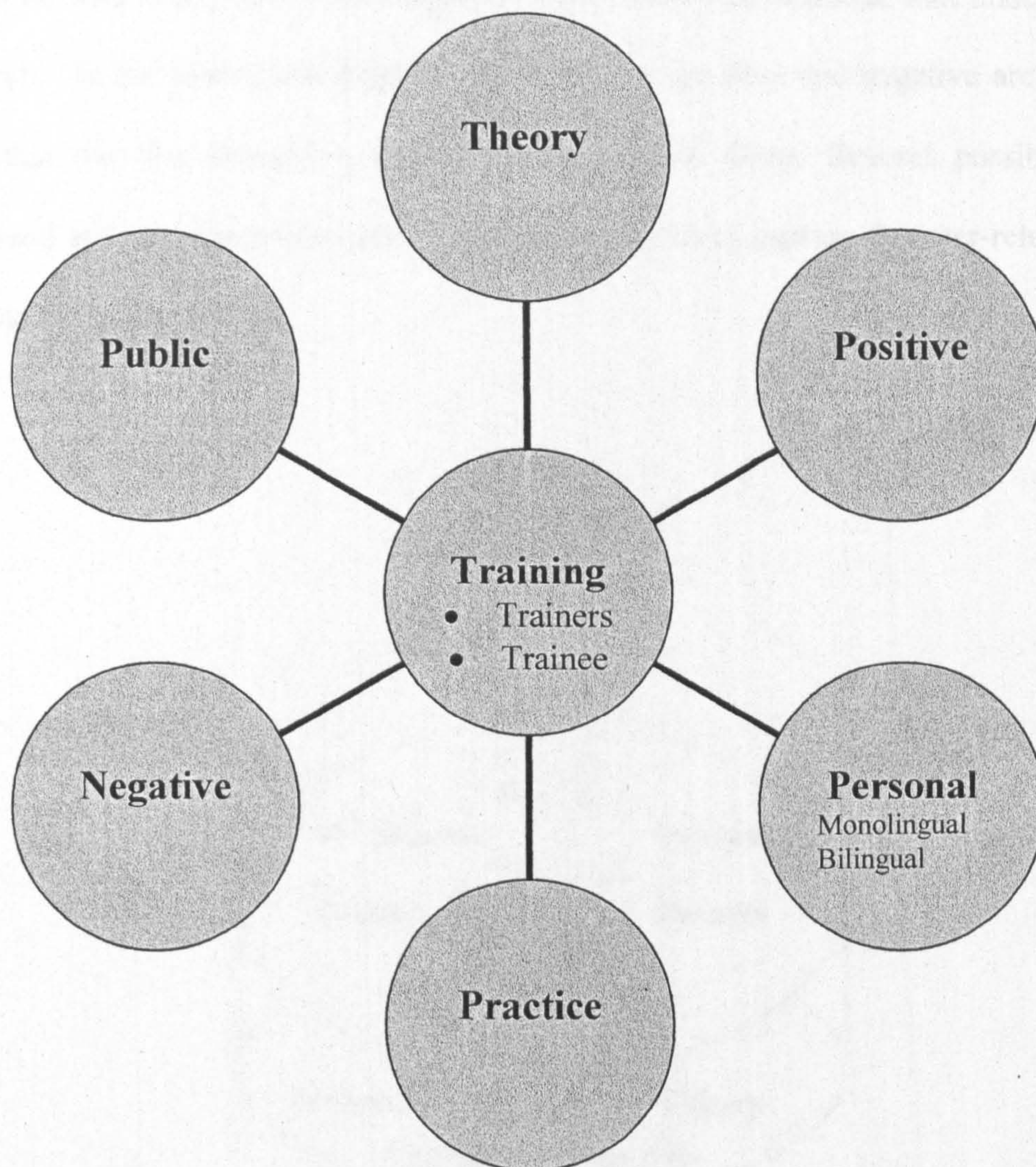
A sixth possible category was explored, that of desires. A few participants expressed ideas for the future. It seemed important to include ideas for change and future developments as these may indicate fields for future research and ways ahead for practitioners.

A dump for information that may prove useful turned out to contain mainly anecdotal case studies that shed light on the participants' attitudes and beliefs as well as reflecting the system and culture of secondary education in the selected schools.

The importance of the final conclusions led to the final category of coding of deductions. This final category emerged during the data analysis, when findings started to emerge and the process of deducing the conclusions began.

Subsequently, the idea emerged of themes or strands running throughout these major coding headings. At first, eight possible strands were explored as Trainer and Trainee; Public and Personal; Theory and Practice; Positive and Negative (cf Figure 3.1).



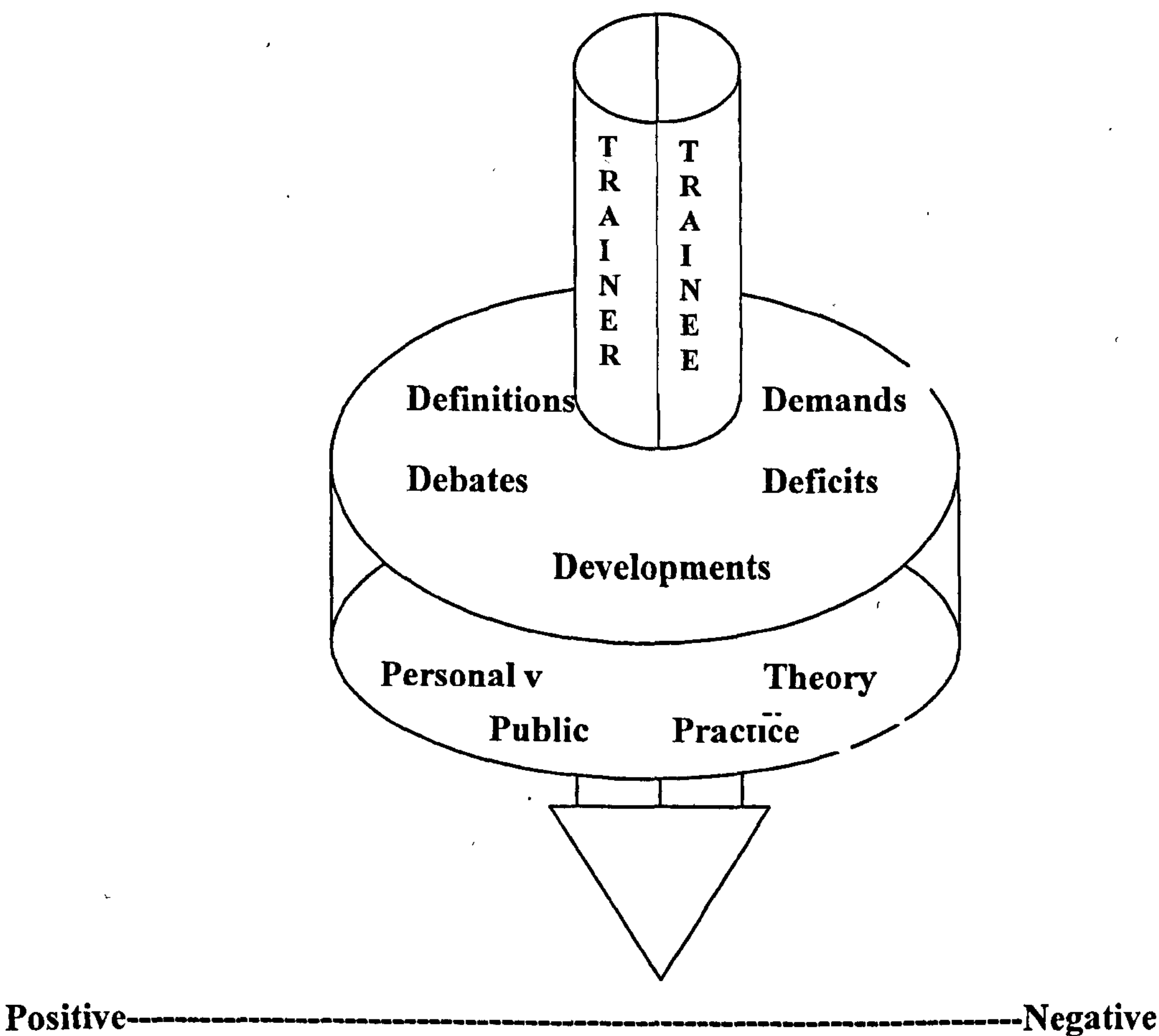


*Figure 3.1 Possible Strands of Training*

The N6 data was recoded using six of the original categories of Definitions; Demands; Debates; Deficits; Developments and Desires with a seventh Dump. Each category was divided into the possible eight strands. This proved cumbersome and divided the data into very small sections. Eight of the sections only contained one or two quotations. This was an illuminative process. For example, there was only one reference to a theoretical definition of bilingualism. However, a reduction and rationalisation of the categories and strands lead to a more manageable coding, which in turn allowed time for a deeper exploration of the underlying themes.



It was decided that positive and negative were a common dialectic that underpinned any research. In the subsequent diagram shown below, positive and negative are shown as a path that the five categories and six strands travel along. Several possibilities were discussed and even assembled into 3-D models in order to explore the inter-relationships of the categories and strands.

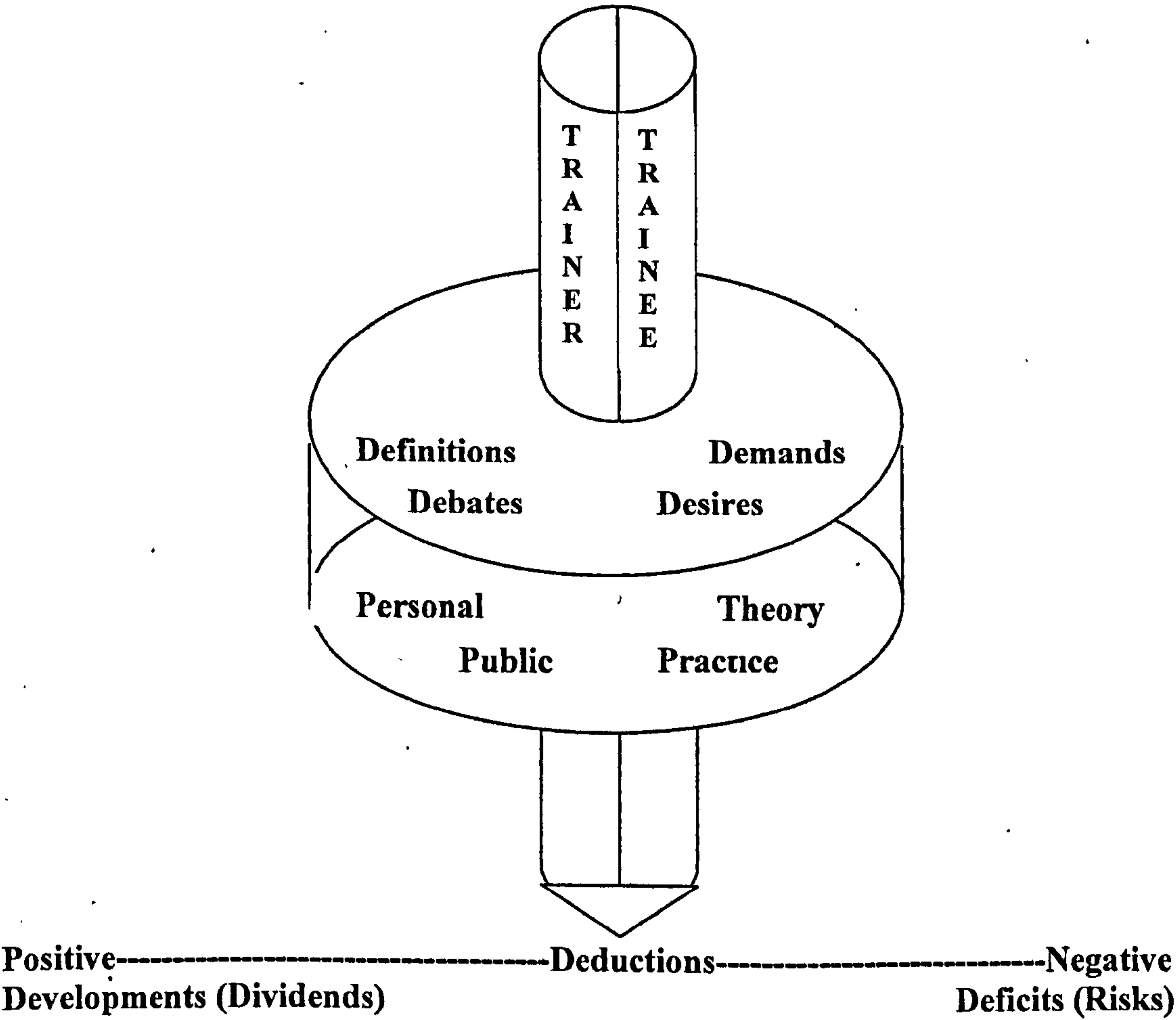


*Figure 3.2 First Top Model*

As Figure 3.2 demonstrates, the trainer and trainee remain firmly as the hub of this research. To the researcher they are inseparable. Alternative possible models that separated them showed so many links that the idea of the two experiencing the training process together was substantiated. Both parties are influenced by the definitions, demands and debates prevalent in the public arena and through their personal experiences. The analysis held for the other categories. Hence, the diagram below emerged. This shows the five major categories on the upper layer of a spinning top. The lower but inter-connected

layer shows the four strands. The trainer and trainee remain at the centre. If the model of spinning top is perceived as hand-held, the trainers and trainees may be perceived as the push factor. However, in the case of a spinning top operated by a whip, they may be propelled exclusively by external factors.

This diagram went through two further mutations before the final version. The remodelling of the diagrams represents the continual search for further clarification and desire to represent the evidence emerging from the data. The modifications took place through discussion with supervisors and a constant revisiting of the data. In the process ideas developed and were confirmed or rejected once they had been checked with the data. Using the electronic coding system of N6 facilitated this constant validation. Figure 3.3 illustrates the final version of this model that mapped key themes and strands.



*Figure 3.3 Fourth and final version of the Top coding diagram*



Throughout the coding process it was vital to keep the initial research questions firmly in mind. The researcher, therefore, mapped the research questions onto the coding in order to ensure coverage (cf Appendix Eight).

During the process of writing up the findings from the data, it became clear what was meant in the literature (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Evans, 2002; Wilkinson, 2004) by continually revisiting the data. Re-reading the quotations selected for the tree nodes allowed other connections to be made with the literature and related theories. This exciting piecing together felt similar to the process of patchwork quilting. Each piece complements the other, whilst adding a dimension to the overall pattern. As with quilting each piece of evidence evoked memories which helped make connections with other parts of the research.

In this way, whilst writing the draft version of demands section, the strength of the monolingual framework became apparent. This tied into the initial research questions and the literature review, whilst emerging firmly from the data. The process was satisfying and exciting. After struggling to interpret the data in a more profound way, it felt as if a light had been switched on and the weft and weave of the raw material revealed.

### **3.3. iii The writing process**

Davies' poem in Appendix Seven expresses succinctly yet beautifully the difficult but creative process of writing (Wilkinson, 2004; Woods, 1985). During this on-going process, the researcher identified with Camus' character in *La Peste* (1947), who spent his life refining but never completing the first line of his novel. However, the emergence of the framework described above, broke through this tendency and allowed the process to flow.

The writing process was the crux for clarifying ideas and occurred in many different forms during the development of the research project. Notes taken during reading and stored on Endnote, the bibliographic electronic storage system, stimulated the exploration of initial ideas. The writing and refining of research questions and interview areas continued the process. The transcription and coding phase involved another genre of writing in terms of memos and comments that recorded key ideas and themes.

The field notes and personal diaries encouraged a free flow of thoughts. In comparison, the discipline of presenting academic papers also proved a useful vehicle for further analysis and the refinement of ideas. Academic papers and posters have been presented throughout the three years, both internally at the Open University and externally at regional conferences in 2004, national conferences in 2004 and 2005, and one international conference in 2006.

Without a doubt, the greatest challenge was the writing of formal academic chapters for the thesis both for supervision sessions and for the final document. As with any other genre, the academic language and conventions had to be learned and absorbed. It was interesting to come afresh to academic writing after some years and to engage anew with the formalities of referencing and quotations. There are rightly questions to be asked about the conventions and what they portray. The convention of referencing by surname, in the field education, seems strongly associated with the public school conventions of surnames only. This means that the gender of the author is not conveyed. To the researcher, this seemed an omission of a potentially crucial contextual factor.

The writing process was a struggle in terms of maintaining a balance between the conventions without losing the person and the personal within the research. The dichotomy was between recounting a fascinating process, whilst adhering to the potential straight-



jacket of conventional academic writing. It was important to create '*an account of social life and reflect the complexity surrounding the raw data in the written account*' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:108) in an interesting way.

Throughout the entire writing process, the challenge is to convey the passion and interest that drives the research. Writing the Literature Review felt like undertaking a tapestry, with tiny stitches of different hues making up a complete picture. The researcher was acutely aware of the vast possibilities and the difference that could be made to the overall picture by the colour of the particular strands chosen. This required attention to fine detail and was slow painstaking work.

Perhaps because the researcher felt ownership of the material in the data analysis, this was a different process to that of the Literature Review. Writing the data analysis was rather like polishing pebbles in a tumbling machine. The ideas churned around, night and day, refining, re-ordering and rewording until new surfaces and concepts emerged, in the hope of transforming the prosaic into a few gems.

# **Chapter Four**

## **Data Analysis**



# **Data Analysis**

## **Definitions**

#### **4.0 Introduction to the Data Analysis**

The data analysis is divided into four major themes, which emerged from the coding process (cf Figure 3.3, Table 3.6), namely definitions, demands, debates and desires. Throughout the analysis the potential deficits or negative interpretations and dividends or positive interpretations permeate the discussion. The major themes are interlaced with the public and personal strands and the tension between theory and practice. As key protagonists in the teaching and learning process, the perspectives of trainers and trainees inform the findings throughout this analysis.

#### **4.1 Introduction to the Data Analysis - Definitions**

This section of the data analysis examines the public and personal definitions in relation to bilingualism within the field of initial teacher training. The interpretation of the definitions and the discourses surrounding bilingualism and initial teacher training highlight the underpinning beliefs and strategies involved in the initial teacher training process.

Baker (2004:2) acknowledges bilingualism as a complex phenomenon with no simple definition. As examined in the Literature Review 2.2.i., bilingualism encompasses the use of two or more communication systems and influences identity and thinking processes as well as perceptions of social and cultural meaning (Baker, 2004:vii). Perceptions of bilingualism range from the concept of balanced bilingual, who is totally proficient in both languages (Bloomfield, 1933), at one end of the continuum to the other extreme, where anyone who can utter or understand a few words in another language may be regarded as bilingual (Baker, 2004:xv). By asking about perceptions of bilingualism, the researcher aimed to reveal whether participants understood the complex nature of bilingualism and what attitudes underlie the responses.



This exploration sought a richer contextual understanding as to whether there was a shared view about the nature of bilingualism. The insight into shared understanding and differences of interpretation helped gain a sharper ‘image’ of the nature of bilingualism as perceived by the participants in this case study. Their responses convey perceptions of the two extremes as illustrated below. Anecdotal evidence in terms of pupil profiles, revealed some understanding of the subtle graduations in between these two states.

#### 4.1.i Analysis of definitions

This analysis of definitions and perceptions emerges from interviews with the participants. It provides the foundations for exploring why the Standards relating to bilingualism are frequently perceived as problematic.

Figure 4.1 below illustrates the four most commonly expressed definitions. These were not articulated as definitions but rather sprang from discussions and anecdotes. Only one trainee offered any theoretical response to the question, ‘What does the term bilingual means to you?’ (cf Appendix Seven). Her first language was French, with two additional languages, including English. She did not consider herself sufficiently proficient in her additional languages to call herself bilingual. Her hesitant response was,

*‘Um, it’s very complicated because actually my boyfriend is bilingual and he did his masters on bilingualism. So he studied the whole thing. Um, bilingual is, if I remember the definition, someone who, who is able to express, umm, who feels confident in the language, I think.*

(School 3, MFL Trainee, 1.201-204)

This encompasses three of Skutnabb-Kangas’ criteria (2000b:573) of self-identification, competence and function. It also captures a key element of confidence. The trainee herself



spoke English to a competent level that allowed her to operate successfully in an English classroom but was diffident about the accuracy of her English.

Overall, four major definitions arose from the participants' responses.

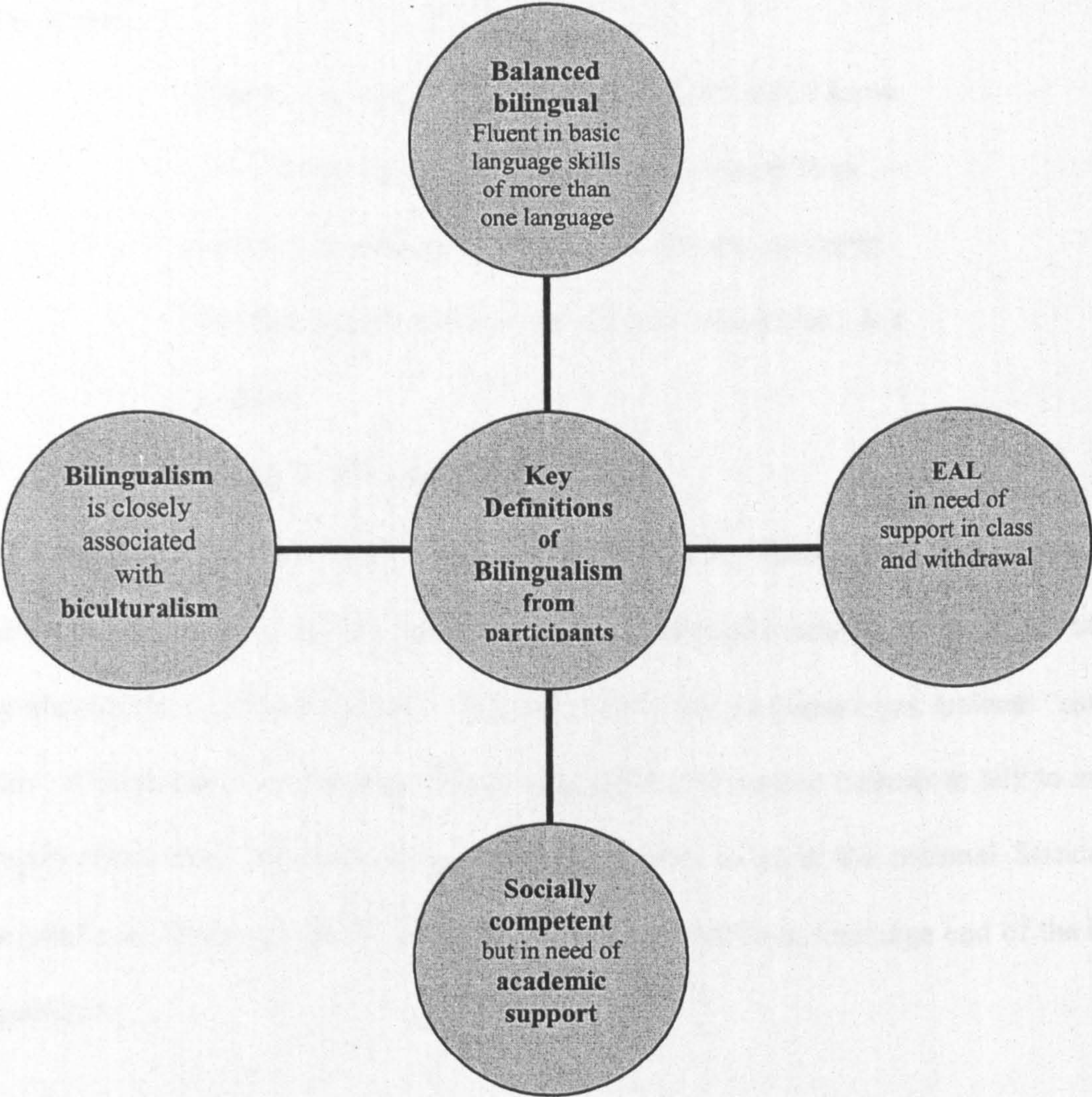


Figure 4.1 Four major definitions of bilingualism given by participants

Participants also raised contextual factors of self-identification, frequency of use, the impact of previous and present educational experience and whether bilingualism is a fluid state that changes over time and place. However, the predominant definitions emphasised the EAL end of the bilingual spectrum and the lack of academic competence in English. Both of these definitions reflect the public discourses related to the Standards and highlight



deficits rather than assets. Balanced bilinguals with complete fluency in English appear to be the main alternative. This is closely allied to the concept of needing to be bicultural in order to be truly bilingual.

The issue of identifying bilingual pupils was raised by a MFL trainee whose first language was French.

*'If they have a specific colour of skin, or I don't know,  
how you can say, maybe images, but some of them  
are just like me and everyone. So, they are speaking  
other languages at home but you can't know that. It's  
so great.'*

(School 3, MFL trainee, 1.189-192)

As a linguistic, she has a positive view of bilingualism. This raises a real issue in schools where the existence of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils remains unidentified, other than by identification with skin colour. Without a full survey of languages, trainees *'can't know that'*. One strategy used by the participating HEIs is to require trainees to talk to individual pupils about their linguistic backgrounds. In order to meet the national Standards, the emphasis is, however, firmly on the English as an additional language end of the bilingual spectrum.

During the individual semi-structured and focus group interviews, over half of the participants provided anecdotes of pupils. These showed some understanding of these additional contextual factors (cf Appendix Nine). There were forty-two anecdotes in total, which were unsolicited in terms of direct questioning. Trainees, especially, found it helpful to identify a particular pupil or previous experience. This highlights the importance of direct practice rather than simply a theoretical activity.

Eleven anecdotes by trainees and three by two trainers show a positive awareness and attitudes to bilingualism. Five trainees described positive experiences with pupils who had been educated in other countries and other languages (FG 1, Trainee 2, English, l. 34-36; FG 1, Trainee 12, MFL, l. 212-214; FG 3, Trainee 1, English, l. 78-84; FG 3, Trainee 2, English, l. 86; Humanities trainee, l. 106). They described high motivation and a confidence in learning additional languages that aided academic process. Personal motivation was highlighted as an important factor by another trainee who understood a language other than English. A positive facility with language and code switching leading to a flexibility of expression was mentioned by a further three trainees.

Another two trainees and one trainer, one of whom was a potentially bilingual, modern foreign languages teacher and the other a monolingual maths trainee from a bilingual background highlighted the importance of acknowledging that every bilingual person is different. They underlined the dangers of set expectations and drew on individual cases from their school placements (School 3, MFL Trainee, l. 230-231; FG 4, maths trainee, l. 71-72; School 2, EAL co-ordinator, l. 110-111)

Two more trainees offered positive contributions to the discussion relating to bilingualism. One of the humanities trainees mentioned the inclusion of sign language and the other, a mathematics trainee, felt that maths was useful as a sign system that crossed languages (Humanities trainee, l. 146; FG 2, maths trainee, l. 174).

One of the trainers was a school co-ordinator in School 2, who emphasised the importance of a positive school policy in terms of proper inclusion and a school ethos that aimed to promote the advantages of speaking other languages (Field notes, 13.12.04). This was particularly highlighted in the modern foreign language department (School 2, school co-ordinator l. 461). The other trainer from the same school was the EAL co-ordinator, who



independently confirmed the positive school ethos (1.420). She also highlighted the importance of detailed linguistic knowledge for each pupil and the need to teach specific vocabulary, especially when dealing with technical terms that may not occur in everyday social language (School 2, EAL co-ordinator, 1.553-583).

On the negative side, four trainees and one EAL co-ordinator highlighted issues relating to pupils who spoke other languages at home. One issue related to pupils who are not literate in their first language or arrive mid-term with little previous experience of English (School 4, EAL co-ordinator, 1. 140-141; FG 2, English trainee 1, 1106-111.; FG 4, humanities trainee, 1.185 – 191). This raises particular difficulties at the secondary school age as few teachers feel confident to teach reading and writing. This was mentioned as a deficit in initial teacher training for secondary schools by the humanities trainee in FG 4. Rather than stressing the value of oral skills that such pupils may have developed teachers and trainees tend to panic about the lack of literacy skills.

In School 4, there was a specific project that catered for fourteen year olds upwards, who arrived, usually as traumatised refugees arriving in Britain without other family members, who may have no previous literacy skills or may have had a highly disrupted pattern of schooling. The teacher, who managed this project, recalled how other teachers tended to panic but was proud to relate how most of the pupils managed to achieve GCSE English by the age of eighteen (Field notes, 16.06.04). Although this still leaves them two years behind their peers, it is an incredible feat showing high levels of motivation and determination. Projects, such as this, should ideally play a part in initial teacher training. Although the pupils represent an extreme, they also demonstrate how having another language is not a barrier to learning English. Given the right teaching and learning environment, these pupils develop English skills quickly and draw on experiences beyond formal education. The challenge for initial teacher training is how to include such

examples in sufficient depth to allow full discussion and extract the positive features rather than allowing the apparent deficits to remain at the forefront.

Another dimension to this debate was raised in Focus Group 3.

*'We've got a couple of students who have moved all over the country with their parents' work and they are actually illiterate... completely illiterate. I've got quite a few... They're illiterate in all of the languages that they can speak. I speaks German, French and English. She's verbally absolutely fine but she is illiterate in all of them.'*

(FG 3, English trainee 1, 1.106-111)

This raises questions about the trainee's understanding of illiteracy. She recognised the positive oral attribute but was struggling to support pupils with their literacy needs. This raises a concern if trainee English teachers feel inadequate, how realistic is it to expect trainees from other disciplines to meet the needs of such pupils. However, within this small sample, the maths and science trainees appeared to appreciate the linguistic demands of their subject specialism and the impact this had on all pupils.

Another issue raised was that of ignoring other languages in the school context. As a young white monolingual female trainee explained,

*'I went to a school where many of the girls spoke other languages at home but it was never a consideration at school. Everyone spoke English really well.'*

(FG 1, trainee 4, 1.49-51)

This experience of ignoring bilingualism is an important, as trainees often draw on their own schooling experiences for models of teaching and learning. The underlying attitude



that speaking other languages was of no importance was confirmed by another young white female trainee in this group.

*'I was not really aware of any bilingual pupils at school.*

*There might have been some but it never really showed.*

*I think you have to be fluent, not just able to make yourself understood. Even A level standard is not enough to make you bilingual.'*

(FG 1, trainee 5, 1.60-64)

This statement also confirms the strong emphasis on fluency when defining bilingualism. Just after these contributions the school co-ordinator commented that everyone was nodding in agreement. In fact ten out of the twelve trainees appeared to agree with this definition. They were all monolingual by self-identification, even though one of them was training to become a modern languages teacher. The other two were the bilinguals. They had wider concepts of what constitutes bilingualism.

The dangers of invisibility of bilingual pupils were raised by an MFL trainee in school 3. She was concerned for the quiet, shy pupils that *'they become transparent'* (1.271). This is an example of using an unusual word as a speaker of other languages that actually expresses the underlying sentiments in a more powerful way. The usual term of invisible has lost some of its impact. This choice of transparent reignited the image of losing identity and becoming a shadow of one's former self. This demonstrates the creativity and flexibility that comes with using more than one language.

The issue of ignoring or being unaware of bilingual pupils for whatever reason has potentially serious consequences for individuals. The concern about pupils *'slipping through the net'* was expressed by a trainer and a trainee (School 2, school co-ordinator, 1.94; FG 4, humanities trainee, 1.183-192). When it comes to examinations, ignoring pupils'

bilingual potential may have severe consequences for the individual, particular groups and the school, in terms of league tables and performance targets. As the humanities trainee in School 4 observed,

*'what is quite interesting to me about the experience of EAL is... students that have been brought up in this country but for whom English is still, obviously, an additional language. They not only speak a foreign language at home but outside the classroom. They speak a foreign language in the playground as well. But there isn't always provision for those kids, um, I'm not entirely sure what provision is available for those kids. It seems that the problem is only manifested when it comes to exam time and they aren't performing that well. Other than that they would slip, they would slip through the net.'*

(FG 4, humanities trainee, 1.183-192)

The use of foreign language is interesting in this context. It clearly is not a foreign language for the pupils concerned and yet it may be viewed as such by trainees and teachers. This trainee was one of two black participants and he is the trainee whose mother insisted on him being educated in English to the point of losing productive skills in his home language of Twi.

The school acknowledged separately that this was an area that had only recently been given serious attention. There were now additional classes and homework groups after school targeted at particular pupils (School 4, EAL co-ordinator, 1.144-154).

Without proper identification and positive attitudes pupils can feel alienated from the education system to the point of exclusion. The school co-ordinators in both school 2 and 4



gave examples of this happening to individuals (Memo attached to transcript for School 2, school co-ordinator interview; school 4, school co-ordinator 1.195-196).

#### **4.1. ii Materials from Higher Education Institutions - Definitions**

Within the documentation made available for this research from the four participating HEIs, the terms bilingual and EAL were used without any clear, formal definitions. The documentation make references to key public policy documents, such as the DfEE (2000) and the TTA (2000), which offer descriptions of pupils with English as an additional language. The director of HEI 2 felt that it was necessary to use official government terminology in order to ensure that trainees understood the relevance to the national Standards. This was echoed by the director in HEI 4. In this way the deficit model discourse of the government national Standards (cf 2.3.ii) is reflected in the materials provided by the Higher Education Institutions.

There are exceptions. For example, HEI 3 makes strong links with other inequalities and the notions of bias. However, with an emphasis on '*failing to achieve their potential*', there is a danger of reinforcing the negative concepts of pupils in need of support. There is no mention here of the linguistic and other benefits of being bilingual. Once more, this tends towards the deficit model of bilingualism leading to underachievement. If the training materials fail to make clear links between underachievement and structural deficits, then trainees may well consider deficits as the fault of individuals or particular groups (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). Bilingual pupils may be blamed for failure rather than the cultural and linguistic bias within the educational system in England.

HEI 4 highlights and emphasises the benefits of pupils who speak more than one language. Within the maths subject specialism materials the materials stress the importance of language awareness.

*'We would like to emphasize from the outset that pupils with EAL bring many benefits to your classroom. ... Their presence...offers opportunities for enrichment of the work taking place.'*

(Mathematics, Module 3B, p.6.)

Specific examples follow. It is significant that the wording counters an assumed negative starting point. It is also interesting that this more positive note is echoed by the other mathematicians interviewed in this study, both in terms of the maths mentor and the maths trainees in School 4 and the maths trainee in Focus Group 3.

Likewise in HEI 2, the science modules look specifically at the implication of teaching pupils with other languages. The science lecturer uses materials from her own research that addresses issues related to teaching science in multilingual schools. The materials offer specific examples of practice from classrooms.

There is a notable absence of any in-depth definition of the issues in the generic materials. This contrasts strongly with the PGCE/Cert Ed for post-compulsory education offered, until recently, by the University of Wales College Newport (Williams, 2005). The focus here is purely on English and Welsh but the documentation for the distance learning mode Teaching in a Bilingual Setting encourages trainees to address the difficulties of definition immediately and to think through the implications for practice. There is a good combination of theory and attention to practice. Even in this material the term 'problem' arises with reference to bilingual teaching and learning in terms of time, resources and planning. These practical considerations reflect the concerns expressed in interviews with trainers.



Trainees are offered minimal generic inputs concerning EAL. Trainees in HEI 1 and 2 receive a one hour generic lecture from an external 'expert'. There is a risk that such lectures, influenced by the deficit discourse of the Standards, will emphasise the aspect of pupils with English as an additional language rather than the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. One such lecture, observed by the researcher (Field notes, 1.11.04), unintentionally left such a deficit impression of EAL pupils. Trainees raised this as an issue both at the end of the lecture and in their evaluative feedback to the HEI. It could be argued that this provoked more discussion than a positive lecture. However, with no member of HEI staff present, it was difficult for trainers to comment in detail, which once more exemplifies how the pressures of time constrain discussion and detailed analysis.

HEI 3 offers a single hour input to the PGCE and GTP trainees collectively. This is delivered by an internal member of staff with considerable experience of teaching in multilingual schools. There is a strong emphasis on equal opportunities and the issues of power that surround the use of language. This gives a theoretical framework for generic language use across the curriculum. However, this model relies heavily on one individual's experience rather than ensuring consistency across subject areas.

HEI 4 allocates about two hours of study time for trainees to read materials related to EAL. This includes three case studies of EAL pupils at different stages of learning. These materials are adapted to the subject specialism but raise generic issues. This ensures consistency across subject specialisms. Although trainees are encouraged to problematise and reflect on the implications of the reading materials, the emphasis is very much on the deficit discourse of the Standards.

#### 4.1. iii Personal definitions from individual trainers in HEIs

The impact of personal definitions came across in individual interviews with HEI trainers.

Through experience overseas, the science lecturer at HEI 2 emphasised the '*tremendous language and literacy skills*' that bilingual pupils bring into the classroom. Her personal positive stance was clearly reflected in the subject specific materials and activities.

*'We do emphasise the issue about EAL learners being very diverse and very different, emphasising that they are not to see them in deficit but that actually these people bring tremendous language and literacy skills into the classroom and that they should be utilised and used. But, anything that benefits EAL pupils benefits all pupils, because those strategies go completely across the board, no matter what their literacy levels are like, actually, even high literacy.'*

(HEI 2, science lecturer, l. 20-25)

Although she offered no formal definition, she had an enthusiastic understanding of the whole continuum involved in bilingualism. She actively sought out positive practice from schools across England that could be shared with trainees. Trainees are then invited to compare this practice with their own school placements and explore contextual factors that may influence different approaches. This activity encourages peer learning through exchanging ideas from school placements. In this way, the personal commitment and understanding of the lecturer has a direct effect on the trainees' learning environment.

A similar impact was evident with the English lecturer in HEI 3. His years of teaching in inner London gave him a wealth of experience to share with trainees. Bilingualism was so much part of his natural way of thinking and teaching that he feared he may not always



make the connections explicit to the trainees. This is where formal definitions for the full range of bilingualism within the training materials would be useful for both trainers and trainees.

The maths lecturer in HEI 4 also had considerable experience in multi-lingual schools. She was acutely aware that most of the trainees would not be placed in such schools. In line with the English lecturer in HEI 3, she felt that attention to linguistic attributes of all pupils was crucial to teaching maths.

The modern foreign languages lecturer in HEI 1 also worked on the premise that language acquisition was fundamental to the subject. *'Language is our raison d'être'* (1.378-379). Her definition of bilingualism included dialect. As a Scot, she felt that she was bilingual. This was based on the feeling of being bi-cultural and also on her use of different terminology. When she moved to England, she became aware that the pupils did not understand that a *'jotter'* was an exercise book (Field notes, 1.11.04). This rather than her fluency in French and German made her feel bilingual. This may be associated with the link between bilingualism and biculturalism (cf 2.2.i.d.).

Individual understanding and awareness of the full range of bilingualism impacts on the learning experience of trainees. Where lecturers have positive personal experiences, they can help translate these into practical stimulus points for trainees. Lecturers may not have a theoretical definition of bilingualism but they may still make a positive contribution if they have considered the implications for their subject specialism.

#### **4.1. iv Personal definitions from trainers in schools**

The school co-ordinator or professional development tutor in schools has overall responsibility for the initial teacher training process. As already mentioned, they were the first point of contact. However, they quickly referred to the EAL co-ordinators as the 'experts' in the school. The EAL co-ordinators in schools 2, 3, 4, had direct input into initial teacher training within the school. For this reason their definitions are addressed first, followed by the school co-ordinators and the mentors within the school. The mentors are subject specialists who are responsible for the day-to-day training within the subject department. They are key trainers, especially in terms of purveying practical '*craft knowledge*' (Hagger, 1997) and ensuring quality within the subject specialism.

##### **4.1. iv.a Personal definitions from EAL co-ordinators**

All three EAL co-ordinators perceived the whole continuum of bilingualism. However, they acknowledged that their focus is predominantly on bilingual pupils who still have limited English and need support.

In schools 2 and 4, the EAL co-ordinators are now involved in analysing examination results for all bilingual pupils. This has resulted in the realisation that there is a need for additional support for pupils who are socially fluent in English but are not realising their full potential academically. Many of these pupils have been born in UK and previously have been considered fluent in English. These additional classes and extra-curricular revision classes are aimed at improving their examination results. They specifically target pupils with predicted D grades in order to raise their grades to C. Doubtless the role of league tables underlies the interest in this area, as highlighted in Gillborn and Youdell (2000). The mentors and school co-ordinators claim that these classes benefit the pupils and the presence of these classes made trainees aware of the need to maximise potential for individuals and groups.



The EAL co-ordinators also recognised gifted and talented bilingual pupils. School 4 promotes a gifted and talented programme that includes bilingual pupils. However, their bilingual talents are not the prime motivation for this recognition. School 2 has accelerated groups in Year 10 who sit GCSE English Language and Literature in Year 10 and A/S level in Year 11. This includes bilingual pupils. There was an acknowledgement that their facility with language was likely to be linked with their bilingualism. This is an example of bilingualism being valued as a resource that contributed to the positive ethos towards linguistic diversity within the school.

The EAL co-ordinators are perceived as the main conduit for information regarding bilingual pupils. Their perceptions and use of language is therefore a key to the attitudes and organisation. The co-ordinator in School 2 is greatly respected for her knowledge and teaching. She describes the pupils whom she supports as '*my children*'. This is an example of how, although she talks in terms of everyone needing to take responsibility for pupils with English as an additional language, she actually portrays an image, through the use of terminology, of an exclusive group. In this way, she, inadvertently, emphasises the separate and in need of support end of the continuum in terms of definitions of bilingualism.

The schools perceive the EAL co-ordinators as 'experts'. Even within this group of 'experts', there was no clear definition of bilingualism or of the difference in the terms bilingual or EAL. As they admit, they have had no formal training and have learned from doing the job.

*'My original subject was history... I sort of slightly  
accidentally got into EAL teaching.'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, 1.38...48-49)

This co-ordinator described EAL pupils as

*'those who actually get support as opposed to those who are bilingual'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, l. 230-231).

Although later, she declared,

*'when I talk of EAL, I suppose I tend to mean bilingual'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, l. 232 - 233).

The confusion of terms continued in statements, such as,

*'We look at statistics on achievement as a bilingual*

*issue rather than as an EAL issue.'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, l. 237 - 238)

This confusion may have been partly because there is no formal academic training specifically for teachers available in England in the field of EAL or bilingualism. Two of the co-ordinators had moved from subject teaching into this field through interest or previous experience. The third is not a qualified teacher but is respected for her experience with the pupils. This lack of availability of formal training reflects the notion that it is possible to learn to teach by doing alone (Lawlor, 1990). It also reflects the lack of status accorded to EAL and bilingualism within the education system in England. It is an area of teaching that appears to require no formal training unlike subject specialisms (cf 2.2.v).

Whilst trying to interest schools in the research, there was one school that offered training to staff for English as a second language teaching. This was based on a model developed in Australia. However, there is no wide spread availability as there is, for example, for teaching pupils with special educational needs. This leaves a gap in the provision of training for EAL teachers and subsequently for initial teacher trainees.



#### 4.1. iv.b Personal definitions from school co-ordinators

School co-ordinators or professional development tutors as they are known in some schools are senior managers who provide professional development for initial teacher trainees as well as overseeing their training. The training programme covers generic issues such as assessment, pastoral care, behavioural management and other whole school issues. In three out of the four schools this included some coverage of EAL.

School 2 and 3 rely on the EAL co-ordinators and the local education authority to provide coverage for EAL. In school 4, the EAL co-ordinator has a minimal input into initial teacher training. School 1 relies entirely on input from the HEIs.

School Co-ordinator 2 offered a definition that included a concept of bilingualism that is broader than EAL but acknowledges that,

*'We may have bilingual pupils within the school who  
are never picked up because English is spoken at home  
or their English is such that they just never come to light.'*

(School Co-ordinator 2, lines 83-85)

This shows that there is no comprehensive school policy for identifying the full range of bilingual pupils, even though this school does keep a full register of languages used for each pupil. It also supports a later comment by the same school co-ordinator that pupils are defined as EAL or bilingual according to their ethnicity and colour (Bourne, 1989:6).

The school co-ordinators at school 3 and 4 were new to the posts. Both had some teaching experience relevant to EAL but neither could offer any kind of definition of bilingualism. As a humanities teacher, school co-ordinator 4 had little to offer in terms of definition or any in-depth understanding. His knowledge was based purely on experience in this one school. He readily admitted to *'not knowing enough'*. He relies on the mentors to cover

this area in any depth. This lack of knowledge was echoed by the school co-ordinator in school 1, who did not even have teaching experience to draw on.

The school co-ordinator at school 3 clearly appreciated the benefits of learning more than one language as she was a modern foreign languages teacher. Within her subject specialism she had identified that many bilingual pupils accessed other languages easily (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.189). In terms of training within the subject area, she helped trainees see the similarities between the techniques used in language teaching and those need for teaching pupils with EAL (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.193). In these ways, she demonstrated some understanding of the spectrum of bilingualism. She was very aware that there was insufficient time to cover this area in any depth. She therefore suggested that there should be a specific area of interest within the Standards that would encourage trainees to cover EAL and bilingualism in more fully (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.140-142).

#### **4.1. iv.c Personal definitions from mentors**

Although the mentor for English in School 2 offered no definition of bilingualism, his ensuing comments demonstrated that he appreciated some of the spectrum and the difference between EAL provision and appreciating bilingualism. He was keen to acknowledge the presence of bilingual pupils in the accelerated GCSE group. He acknowledged their facility with understanding linguistic structure. He explained that the course involved semantics and phonetics, emphasising that *'the bilingual pupils do especially well with these aspects of language'* (Mentor 2, 1.42-43). The trainee, who taught one of the observed lessons, appreciated the positive support she had had from her mentor, who reflected the positive ethos in the school concerning bilingual pupils.



The maths mentor in School 4 had no training in this area before arriving at this school. Through his own personal request, the EAL department inducted him into the key ideas. His knowledge and definitions were based purely on experience in this one school. He was strongly in favour of the school policy of placing pupils in sets according to mathematical attainment rather than attainment in English. His comment that

*'maths...is like learning another language...while you  
are learning English, you may as well learn maths as well.'*

(1.62-64)

re-iterates the message in HEI 4 materials. This analogy embraces some of the positive skills associated with bilingualism. It is interesting to note that the two maths trainers and the maths trainees in focus groups 1, 2, and 4 in this research all accepted the need to teach the language of maths as relevant for all pupils. This understanding of the need to teach specific terminology seemed to lead to a significant awareness of the positive attributes related to linguistic diversity.

The science mentor in School 3 displayed a similar awareness of the importance of language within the subject specialism. She knew Spanish from living and going to school in Spain for two years when she was nine years old. As Spanish is a prevalent language in the school, she felt this gave her an advantage in recognising '*bright*' and '*lazy*' bilingual pupils. She acknowledged that the trainee may not be recognising bilingual pupils in the class, '*because they have no obvious needs*'. She expressed her intention to discuss this with the trainee but, with the GTP trainee was nearing the end of her year in the department, the topic had not yet arisen.

This oversight highlights the ad hoc nature of training in general and particularly in relation to specific Standards as those addressed in this study. Despite potentially useful personal experiences, the mentor had not prioritised this area with the trainee. In defence of the

mentor, the trainee was struggling and this may have been a deliberate decision. However, the public definition that emphasises support and need in relation to English as an additional language further hampers such discussions.

#### **4.1. v Definitions offered by the Local Authorities (LAs)**

Only one of the two LAs has a significant planned input into initial teacher training. In this case, the sessions are well presented and do deal with some of the theoretical aspects of bilingualism. There is a stress on bilingualism being more than pupils with English as an additional language.

The papers given to trainees suggest a working definition of bilingual as *'Someone who has regular access to more than one language'*. This proved helpful in setting the agenda as wider than those pupils, who need support. An interesting activity, that provoked discussion amongst the trainees, involved ranking the advantages of bilingualism in the shape of a diamond. The selection of statements posed the question of what might benefit bilingual pupils the most in future careers and their working life. This consolidated the positive advantages emphasised by this trainer.

This emphasis on linguistic diversity as an asset contrasted strongly with the unintentionally negative session delivered in HEI 2 where the emphasis was strongly placed on the lack of English. The LA adviser provided a positive picture. She emphasised the need to put language into a context. By providing context-embedded language she stressed that all pupils would be helped to meet the success criteria demanded by the national curriculum and assessment tests.

Trainees were encouraged to consider the higher order thinking skills that lead to cognitive and academic proficiency. The additional skills and knowledge gained by accessing more



than one language was clearly highlighted with the ensuing benefits of raising academic outcomes (Baker, 2003; Burck, 2005; Cummins, 1984, 2000; Garcia, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

#### 4.1. vi Personal definitions from trainees

The trainees predominantly favoured the definition of full competence or balanced bilingualism. This included trainees who spoke more than one language sufficiently well to be undertaking their initial teacher training in English and in some cases to be teaching a language other than English. A prime example of this was a trainee who spoke French as her first language. Although she spoke German and Russian, she perceived herself as still struggling in English. *'I am not bilingual yet'* (School 3, MFL trainee, 1.143-144).

By dint of her boyfriend undertaking a Masters degree in bilingualism, she understood the complexity of trying to define the term. She was the only respondent to comment on any theoretical perspective concerning bilingualism. For her the basis of bilingualism was feeling confident in the language. (School 3, MFL trainee, 1.204) As a modern foreign linguist, she appreciated the role of the four basic skills and felt that competence in all four was essential to defining someone as bilingual. On the other hand, she emphasised, *'Each bilingual person is different from the other.'* (School 3, MFL trainee, 1.230-231). She was also aware of the role of motivation in learning a language and the important factor of the status of the first language in maintaining and conserving it.

In Focus Group 1, where there was a mixture of subject specialists, there seemed to be a consensus with the view expressed by trainee 1.

*'I did GCSE French and German but to no extent would*

*I say that I am bilingual. To me that means fluent.'*

(FG 1, Trainee 1, 1.28-29)

This opinion was backed later by other trainees who felt fluency rather than simply being understood was the key (FG 1, Trainee 5, 1.62-63). One of the two potentially bilingual trainees in the group agreed. Even though he spoke German at home and spoke Spanish well enough to teach it and was undertaking his initial teacher training in English, he was still not sure whether he would call himself bilingual (FG 1, Trainee12, 1.233-235).

Again, in Focus Group 1, Trainee 6 seems a classic example of English dominance leading to him maintaining his monolingualism. Despite a multi-lingual wife and friends as well as working in an Italian company for three years, this trainee still classes himself as monolingual. His motivation appeared to be high.

*'I have been trying desperately for the last ten years,  
just so that I know what my wife is saying!'*

(FG 1, Trainee 6, 1.59-60).

Despite this, he still felt a failure. Surrounded by multi-linguists, who all spoke fluent English, he did not class himself as bilingual even though he understood some Italian. The whole group here concurred that being bilingual meant being fluent.

At the very end of the discussion, a multi-lingual modern foreign language teacher introduced the concept of social versus academic competence, citing the academic success of his tri-lingual six year old daughter. Without his intervention, there would have been no challenge to trainees who had not thought beyond the importance of social fluency. It was at times like this that the researcher felt the tension between her practitioner role as an educationalist and trainer and her role as a researcher (cf.3.1.v).

Trainee 12 in Focus Group 1 went on to clarify his definition of bilingualism further.



*'You are talking about bilinguals, who are in school,  
speaking one language to their parents and speaking  
English in society. They are always aware of being in  
two cultures all the time. Whereas if you go to  
university and learn a language as a foreign language,  
you are not expected to immerse yourself in the culture.'*

(FG 1, Trainee 12, 1.173-177)

This assists in the explanation of why the modern foreign linguists did not perceive themselves as bilingual. It seems a key point in defining bilingualism. At one level, it is sufficient to attain fluency, either aurally, orally, or with the ability to read or write more than one language. However, a crucial feature in all those interviewed in this research was that of belonging to more than one culture. Bilingualism seems tightly enmeshed with biculturalism (cf 2.2.i.d).

Just one of the twelve trainees in this first focus group defined themselves as bilingual. He had come to Britain at the age of ten and had been withdrawn for English support. In his definition of bilingualism, he identified flexibility as an important attribute (FG 1, Trainee 1, 1.204).

The flexibility issue was also raised by the fifth focus group. This group consisted of modern foreign language trainees, several of whom had previous experience of teaching in bilingual settings, for example, in the Catalan region of Spain.

*'They have different ways of expressing things...*

*They have more options.'*

(FG 5, Trainee 1, 1.33 and 35)

None of these trainees appeared to have a theoretical backing for such statements. Such theoretical understanding would have given more confidence to the trainees and helped them place their personal experiences in a theoretical framework.

In Focus Group 4, there was one of the four trainees who identified himself as a '*weird*' bilingual in that he could understand Twi and speak a little but could not translate English into Twi (FG 4, Trainee 4, l. 238). In effect, he was a passive bilingual as described by Baker (2004:137). He bemoaned his lack of understanding of linguistic issues, as he perceived it as a crucial element for all teaching, especially in his specialism of history.

#### **4.1. vii Key findings from definitions of bilingualism from trainers, trainees and training materials**

Trainers and trainees have partial definitions of bilingualism. The need for clear definitions about it means to be bilingual is not just an academic, theoretical exercise, it has practical implications for pupils' life chances as well as their sense of self esteem and identity. Without a clear perception of the whole range of bilingualism, some pupils will remain unidentified and the benefits of their bilingualism will be lost to the teaching and learning process.

There is very little firm theoretical underpinning for the concepts of bilingualism in the participating training institutions or amongst the trainees. This restricts a shared understanding and leads to feelings of inadequacy and lack of experience. The emphasis is firmly on the practical experience with pupils who have English as an additional language. This is partly determined by the discourse of the national Standards and the political climate. It also springs from a lack of training in this field on the part of the trainers. These factors contribute to the notion of the Standards relating to bilingualism as problematic.



Even the EAL co-ordinators, as the perceived 'experts' at school level, appear to have no clear definition of bilingual pupils. Certainly, no theoretical understandings emerged in conversation or during the interviews. The lack of formal training conveys a strong covert message that this is an area that has less status than subject specialisms.

In the same way, the school co-ordinators and mentors lack any formal training in EAL or bilingualism. Awareness of the range of bilingual pupils within subject specialism springs from personal and professional experiences rather than theoretical understanding or policy requirements, either at a national or institutional level. There is then a deficit in terms of any formal definitions of EAL and bilingualism amongst the trainers in schools in this research.

Where trainers and trainees have personal experiences involving bilingualism, there is a deeper understanding of the complexity and benefits of bilingualism. This more positive approach influences the choice of strategies and encourages a more confident interpretation of the Standards. For example, the director in HEI 3 clearly sees the attitudes, skills and knowledge needed to teach bilingual pupils as a common approach that leads to effective teaching and learning for all pupils. There is no problem or mystery, simply an exciting way of working together with pupils from diverse linguistic backgrounds. The emphasis here is on process rather than content.

The lack of firm theoretical understanding is of concern, as the trainees then have to rely on the school placements to improve their understanding. This in turn relies on the school context and means that trainees' experiences vary according to their school placement. As with meeting other Standards, the relationship between the mentor and the trainee is crucial (Furlong and Maynard, 1995; Hagger, 1997).

The national Standards do not require the trainee to demonstrate any theoretical understanding of bilingualism or English as an additional language. Trainees without previous experience or who are not fortunate enough to be placed in a multilingual school may therefore remain at a low level of awareness as the HEI materials reflect the dominant discourse of the national Standards with the emphasis on EAL.

The public demands of the national Standards appear to go formally unchallenged, unless by an individual with particular personal experience. This indicates a minimal competence approach rather than a full educational debate about the issues surrounding the concepts and definitions of bilingualism and English as an additional language.

Deficits in definitions of bilingualism are attributed to a lack of academic training. This leads to a lack of clarity in discourse and use of terminology. Without clarity and understanding the national public deficit model remains unchallenged within the initial teacher training process in England. Trainers attribute this partly to lack of time and resources. All these deficit factors contribute to the notion of a problem and impact negatively on the strategies that underpin the support offered to trainees.

In terms of positive developments, individual trainers may explore the more complex nature of bilingualism. This leads towards more positive attitudes and a deeper understanding of bilingual pupils and the processes involved for encouraging bilingual learning. Personal experiences and histories are key factors for trainers and trainees but a more concerted challenge is needed if the full spectrum of bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England is to be properly celebrated rather than seen as a problem.



# **Data Analysis**

## **Demands**

## 4.2 Introduction to the data analysis - Demands

Through the analysis of documentation at a national, local and institutional level, the first part of this section of the data analysis examines the impact of public demands on how initial teacher trainees learn to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England. Consideration is also given to the influence of international policies and practices.

'Demands', in this context, covers socially and politically constructed pressures that impinge on the initial teacher training process. It includes formal policies and directives as well as informal demands created within institutions and by individuals. Institutions are under pressure from resource drivers in terms of public accountability and future funding for the courses. The national Standards for initial teacher training form a crucial element of accountability and perceived quality.

At a macro level, international policies should inform national policies. The tendency revealed in connection with bilingual issues shows a leaning towards international policies from the other '*inner*' circle, where English is the native language of the majority of the population (Edwards. V, 2004:3). This includes Canada, the USA, Australia and Aoteroa/New Zealand. Edwards contrasts this with the '*outer circle*' that consists of former colonies, where English was introduced as an official language among other local languages. This includes countries such as India and South Africa. Another comparison is with the '*extended circle*', which includes countries, such as China and Japan, where English is rapidly developing as a means of international communication.

As with other national policies, such as assessment strategies and performance indicators, in the English education system, the USA has a strong influence on decisions. In connection with bilingualism and EAL, the English-only policy still dominates discussion and media coverage. The more multi-lingual models in Africa, Asia or other European



countries, where pupils are encouraged to operate in more than one language, are largely ignored.

Since the late 1980s, national policy has strengthened its hold over local policies. Schools and HEIs have to follow the diktats of central government in order to maintain funding. Local policies in terms of local education authorities, individual HEIs and schools may reflect the local context in terms of linguistic diversity but have minimal influence in terms of educational direction. Despite the current rhetoric of independence for schools (Education Reform, 2006), funding is based on judgements of performance. Performance indicators are firmly determined by central government.

This analysis explores the effects these demands have on the policies, beliefs and strategies underpinning the training process. It demonstrates how despite personal and professional beliefs, for example, in a holistic approach to training, public policies influence the strategies available.

The second part of this section of the analysis examines the impact of personal demands in terms of the experiences and understandings of individual trainers and trainees in relation to bilingualism.

All bar one of the seventeen trainers, participating in the research, were monolingual. One EAL co-ordinator was bilingual. There were also two modern foreign linguists, who spoke other languages but did not consider themselves to be bilingual. Only one mentor and one HEI lecturer had experience of being educated in another system; one in Spain and the other in Scotland. One other EAL co-ordinator had experience of living and working in China for eight years.

The trainees ranged from those straight from university in their early twenties through to mature students, who were retraining from other careers. The majority had experiences beyond their own schooling that exposed them to some form of bilingualism either in their work environment or within social circle of family and friends.

82% of the trainee participants were educated in Britain. Only one out of the thirty-seven trainees came to Britain at the age of ten, speaking two languages but with little previous experience of English. There were five overseas students in the modern foreign language cohort in Focus Group 5, one in Focus Group 1 and one in Focus Group 4.

Only 15% designated themselves as bilingual. A further 28% had at least a working knowledge of one or more languages other than English. With three exceptions, these trainees were prospective modern foreign languages teachers. As the table 4.1. below indicates, the majority of trainees consider themselves to be monolingual.

Focus Group (FG)	Number of trainees	Educated in Britain	Bilingual (self-designated)	Knowledge of more than one language but not bilingual
FG 1	12	10	2 (1MFL; 1 Maths)	2 (1MFL; 1 science)
FG 2	7	7	0	0
FG 3	2	2	0	0
FG 4	4	3	0	1 (Humanities)
FG 5	12	8	4 (MFL)	8 (MFL)
Individual interviews	2	2	0	0
Total	39	32	6	11
Percentage	100%	82%	15%	28%

*Key MFL (Modern Foreign Languages)*

*Table 4.1 Educational and linguistic background of trainees*

As Table 4.1 demonstrates, no-one in focus groups 2 or 3 was able to speak from a bilingual perspective. Only in Focus Group 5 was bilingualism the norm as this consisted exclusively of modern foreign language trainees. This highlights an important issue for



training. Trainees may not only be deprived of teaching in a multi-lingual school during their school placements but they also lack contact with bilingual trainees or trainers during their training.

The evidence for this section of data analysis on demands emerges from documentation, individual semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, classroom observations and field notes.

#### **4.2.i Demands from international directives and policies**

Cummins (2000:112-139) argues strongly for transforming '*instructional landscapes*'. It is vital to expand the vision of education beyond national boundaries, if trainees and pupils are to comprehend the implications of globalisation and look beyond the monolingual framework which underpins the English national curriculum.

Individual respondents mentioned international contexts in relation to their own personal histories. For example, the science lecturer in HEI2 has experience of South Africa and the requirements involved in initial teacher training there. She uses this as an example of colonial legacy in a Developing Countries option available to all PGCE trainees (HEI 2, Science lecturer, 1.153-164). This encourages trainees, who chose to attend, to reflect on the global and colonial influences on training perspectives. Such an option should, ideally, be part of the compulsory elements of the course, as it broadens the '*instructional landscapes*' (Cummins, 2005:112-139). In practice, HEIs have to make difficult choices in order to cover the full range of requirements in order to meet all the national Standards.

None of the participants mentioned international frameworks, such as the United Nations conventions (Baker, 2004:174) discussed in the Literature Review, in terms of factors influencing their work with bilingual pupils or pupils with English as an additional

language. The resource drivers insist that initial teacher training focuses exclusively on the national curriculum and national policies with little regard for alternative models or exploration of the roots of national ideas. Such omissions do not encourage trainees to engage in critical thinking about the policies and frameworks that comprise the educational system in England today. Without such engagement, the micro multilingual contexts in an increasing number of schools in England and the macro multi-lingual perspectives common in the majority of the world do not impinge on initial teacher training. Through omission, the monolingual framework remains unchallenged.

#### **4.2. ii National demands**

The funding and inspection of initial teacher training concentrate on meeting national demands, which spring from a predominantly monolingual perspective (cf 2.3.i; 2.3.ii). The participating schools and HEIs identified the following public demands as impinging on their approach to initial teacher training in relation to learning to teach bilingual pupils. From central government the providers of initial teacher training in England are held accountable through the :-

- ethnic monitoring and monitoring linguistic diversity (cf 2.4)
- requirements of Ofsted inspections (Ofsted, 2002)
- TTA survey and standards (TTA, 2002; cf.2.3.ii; Appendix 1)
- demands of the Key Stage Three Strategy (cf 2.3.v.).
- partnership model of training (cf 2.3.iii)

The schools also mentioned the Ethnic Minorities and Travellers Achievement Grant (EMTAG) as a government directive from which three of the four benefited ([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk)). These contextual factors provide boundaries for this study. The potential impact of these government demands is analysed below.



#### 4.2.ii.a Ethnic monitoring and monitoring for linguistic diversity

All participating institutions were aware of the need for ethnic monitoring and the lack of national monitoring for linguistic diversity. The fieldwork was completed before the announcement in August 2005 of the British government's intention to require a survey of first languages for pupils in schools through the Local Authorities data collection on the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) form. This form is completed every January from 2006 (DfES, 2005a; [www.DfES.gov.uk](http://www.DfES.gov.uk)). The proposal is to collect information on pupils' ethnicity, first language, faith, traveller status and disability. This central government initiative springs from a European Union directive in relation to Equality of Employment. The stated rationale is that the information on first language

*'has the potential for use both nationally and locally to help direct educational planning and policy, with a view to ensuring that every child has the opportunity to maximise his or her potential.'*

(DfES, 2005a; [www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk), 2006)

As responses to the consultation show concern was expressed about issues of confidentiality and issues of identifying first languages. Respondents raise important issues about definitions and multiple language use.

*'Most respondents understood the relevance of collecting first language information and welcomed the new language list, but suggested they would find some of the definitions confusing. The distinction between first language and home language should be spelt out more clearly if schools were to avoid collecting heritage languages in which the children themselves were not fluent. Some respondents thought that information on children's multiple languages should be collected as part of the school census, rather than separately as suggested.'*

*They felt it would be difficult to accurately select a 'first language' as many children spoke more than one language.'*

([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk) , June, 2006)

This response is heartening in terms of awareness shown of the complexity of collecting such data. However, the response from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) is disappointing. There will be small modifications to the suggested list of languages and the collection of this data will be optional in 2007 pending further consideration. Workshops will be available for those schools interested in collecting the data. It should be noted that none of the suggested areas are to be implanted fully in 2007. The Traveller Mobility Status was the least contentious and will be implemented in 2008. It could be argued that the response to the language survey shows a healthy interest rather than just an acceptance as in the case of the traveller mobility element. The concern is the delay to the survey rather than the constructive criticism of the wording and concepts.

For the foreseeable future, the status quo will remain with interested schools collecting linguistic data, albeit with the possibility of using agreed national categories. Despite the lack of national policy, three of the participating schools collected information about languages used by the pupils in the school and used to inform teachers and trainees of individual's language status. The emphasis was clearly on EAL rather than the full spectrum of bilingualism.

*'We do do it in language groups for our own needs, because we need to know that, in terms of what support we can offer.'*

(EAL co-ordinator, School 3, 1.83-84)



Although this demonstrates positive awareness of the benefits of collecting data on language, the statement reveals a deficit model in terms of emphasising support. This emphasis on support reflects the dominant discourse of the national Standards and therefore highlights the importance of a positive message regarding bilingualism in the new directive.

At present, in the suggested national survey, there is only space to enter one additional language per pupil. It seems unlikely that the overall message will be one of celebration of linguistic diversity.

A national survey could provide an opportunity to celebrate the diversity of languages in Britain. The evidence could encourage schools to promote languages further. Without clear positive directives, actions, such as the new head teacher in a London secondary school reported in the Independent newspaper (Garner, 2006), will continue to devalue linguistic diversity in favour of an English only policy. The new head stopped the teaching of science at GCSE level in Turkish as, after three years, the bilingual group were not attaining higher grades than the English only group. The new head's public justification is that '*We need to equip them for life after school in London*' (Garner, 2006).<sup>6</sup> A spokeswoman for the government said that it was '*a freedom for individual schools*' to decide how to deliver the curriculum (Garner, 2006). As with the language survey, this reflects, yet again, a lack of political will to insist on linguistic diversity being viewed as a resource rather than a problem.

However, this autonomy is strongly disputed by Gillborn and Youdell (2000: 206). The above example highlights the dangers of what Gillborn and Youdell term the A-C economy. It is a fitting case for their argument that wider education and equality of

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<sup>6</sup> Further investigation reveals that the decision was driven by complex micro politics within the school. The key issue is the official and media response that fails to support the teaching in other languages.

education are sacrificed for the ever demanding external pressures of league tables. They rightly argue that until the same level of resources and activity is directed towards social justice, then examples such as this will continue to occur. A-C grades will continue to be valued and celebrated over the potential for maintaining linguistic diversity.

#### **4.2.ii.b Ofsted inspections**

At the time of the fieldwork in 2004, the framework used by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED, 2002) specified the inspection of English as an additional language in schools. As with the national Standards for Initial Teacher Training, there was no direct mention of bilingualism. Ofsted inspections are carried out by qualified teams of inspectors. It was a requirement in 2004 that at least one team member was trained in the inspection of EAL. This training, however, could be as little as a one day course.

The focus on EAL, rather than the broader spectrum of bilingualism, led to schools, such as School 1, where there were only infrequent pupils with English as an additional language, undergoing inspections without any mention of pupils who may speak more than one language. This reinforced, yet again, the monolingual framework of public demands.

During 2003-2004, School 4, HEI 1 and HEI2 were involved in Ofsted inspections. The school experience was a deficit one. The inspector for EAL was a special needs expert, who appeared to have little knowledge or experience of EAL. The lack of expertise on the part of the named inspector had a negative effect on the EAL co-ordinator. She felt that, although they had received a good report, it had not been based on rigorous questioning or understanding of the major issues. There certainly was no question of the inspection raising the wider implications of bilingualism in the school.



Given that this is the school with the highest number of bilingual pupils participating in this research, it raises questions as to the general level of awareness within inspection teams. Now that the inspection framework (OFSTED, 2005) has changed to rely on the school's self-evaluation, it is even less likely that EAL and wider issues will be addressed. The emphasis now is firmly on set criteria based on performance targets.

The HEI inspections by Ofsted emphasise management and quality rather than addressing details of individual standards ([www.ofsted.gov.uk](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk)). One director expressed concerns that Ofsted inspections *'are more concerned with how one measures quality than actual quality.'* (HEI 2, Director, 1.73). This indicates that the inspection focussed on the processes employed by the HEIs rather than the actual outcomes. This encourages HEIs to concentrate on systems rather than on the delivery of individual Standards.

The lack of emphasis on the area relating to EAL and bilingualism conveys a covert message to schools and HEIs. In the case of School 4, the EAL co-ordinator felt that a key part of the school had been undervalued. In the case of the HEIs, the monitoring and auditing of individual standards rely on internal structures within the HEIs and partner schools. This works well where there are effective systems that are conscientiously enforced. For example, HEI 2 prioritised the Standards relating to EAL within the departmental action plans. From 2005, the inspection framework changes to one based on self-evaluation. The proposals include shorter inspections for HEIs that are deemed good or better. Consequently, the coverage of individual subject specialisms will be considerably reduced to no more than 50% coverage of all subjects ([www.ofsted.gov.uk/pressreleases](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/pressreleases), 2005). This is likely to mean that generic issues such as EAL and bilingualism will feature even less explicitly in future inspections.

The self-evaluation system will rely heavily on internal monitoring and development. The following response to the TTA survey of NQTs in 2004 (cf Appendix One) indicates that staff members at HEIs do respond to such alerts.

*'The survey, saying that we are not preparing them  
[the trainees] very well. I mean, you could not see that  
without thinking that we must do something about it.'*

(HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.300-301)

As the director of the same HEI commented in connection with the national Standards relating to EAL,

*'We're outstandingly good in most respects. Because of  
the nature of where we are, geographically... I don't think  
we're outstandingly good in this respect. And, therefore,  
we need to improve.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.239-242)

It will be interesting to see whether future dependence on self evaluation encourages this kind of analysis still further or whether external stimulus is needed to keep areas such as bilingualism and EAL on the agenda. The present lack of focus on bilingualism suggests that the discourse of public demands is crucial in determining institutional responses.

#### **4.2.ii.c Key Stage Three National Strategy 2004-05**

Ideally, within the Key Stage Three National Strategy, all teachers, regardless of their subject specialism should plan to incorporate literacy, numeracy and scientific skills into their lessons. The DfES guidance to head teachers and senior managers claims that

*'the materials focused on the teaching of minority ethnic  
pupils and those learning English as an additional language  
have led to improved practice, both in the mainstream*



*and in support groups.'*

(DfES, 2004:12)

There is no direct evidence offered for these claims. Once again, there is no mention of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils with a clear emphasis on the monolingual perspective of learning English.

The participating schools were in the early stages of responding to this strategy during the period of the fieldwork in 2004/2005. There was a positive response in School 2. Referring to the Key Stage Three Strategy, the EAL co-ordinator proudly stated,

*'My children are part of that now...They are being included  
with everything else, which I think is important.'*

(EAL co-ordinator, School 2, 1.213-215)

In this school, which is a Catholic school with a strong pastoral tradition of caring for individual pupils, inclusion was more than integration. Inclusion incorporated the development of tolerance, diversity and equality of opportunity and outcome, (Roaf, 2002:ix). The trainees, in focus group 2 from HEI 3, who were based in this school, confirmed a positive commitment to language development across the curriculum and high standards for all.

In English, the trainees felt that they were encouraged to stretch the top pupils, regardless of their linguistic background and differentiate from that (FG 2, English Trainee 3, 1.195-200). The good practice of exploring key words; constantly checking for complete understanding; and analysing the roots and use of language was in evidence from the wall displays and the classroom observation with English trainee 1 in this school (Field notes, 19.05.05).

The maths trainees in this school also felt confident in their awareness of use of language. They gave examples of how they helped pupils with limited English. The emphasis once more was on beginner bilinguals rather than any sense of celebrating a diversity of language within the classroom. They both talked about how they rely on the skills of the bilingual teaching assistants to help the new arrivals keep up and seemed much less aware of the possible use of linguistic diversity for more balanced bilinguals (FG 2, maths trainee 1, l. 171 – 184; FG 2, maths trainee 2, l. 251-257).

Both trainees asked pupils to exchange ideas on their solutions to problems. With the exceptions of the new arrivals, the assumption was that this would take place in English. This was partly due to the spread of languages within the group and partly to do with class teacher and trainee expectations.

The two physical education (PE) trainees talked about the need to show how their lessons contribute to numeracy and literacy (FG 2, PE trainee 1, l.204-205). They, likewise, emphasised issues relating to pupils with little English. *'They do struggle with the theory side of PE.'* (FG 2, PE trainee 2, l.59). Trainee 1 articulated the difficulty he had in planning for all the different groups. He saw the external demands as unreasonable.

*'Unless someone can not speak English, I don't think there is any reason why we should be told. We have so many other things to worry about.'*

(FG 2, PE trainee 1, l. 249 – 252)

This is an example of trainees still being at the stage of concentrating on their own concerns rather than focussing on pupils' learning, identified by Furlong and Maynard as beginning teaching (1995:181). Their personal demands outweigh the pressures of external demands to consider the pupil learning as a priority. He was still operating on separate



competences rather than viewing the teaching and learning process as a whole. He was only in the second out of three school experiences. However, the competence model may enable him to simply tick the boxes without making the connections.

The general awareness of language across the curriculum in the school was further borne out by the science mentor.

*'It's not the subject specific words that are problematic because we make a point of teaching those to everyone. We are hot on scientific literacy. It's the more general expressions and writing it down, where the EAL pupils need support. For example, in the wording of the questions in the SATs, they may come across soil, earth, mud. They need to know the synonyms.'*

(School 2, science mentor, l. 47-52)

She was highly aware of issues relating to idioms and through her own personal experience of being educated in Spanish as a child, appreciated the higher order skills involved in becoming a balanced bilingual.

This sentiment was re-echoed by the maths mentor in School 4. Awareness of the higher order language skills required for academic competence, described by Cummins as cognitive academic language proficiency CALP (Cummins, 1984, 2000; cf 2.2.ii.), appeared to rely on personal histories and experience rather than the demands of any formal training. Neither mentor claimed any theoretical understanding or recalled any formal training beyond short inputs into in-service training days by the EAL co-ordinators. Neither mentioned mentor training with HEIs, which, on the admission of the four HEIs involved, is ad-hoc and rarely covers specific Standards. Both mentors did their best to

alert their trainees to these language issues when discussing planning and evaluating lesson observations.

During the lesson observations undertaken for the research, the science trainee in School 2 (Field notes, 24.05.05) and the two maths trainees in School 4 (Field notes, 20.04.05; 21.04.05) displayed an awareness of pupils' language use which reflected the mentors' awareness. They knew the pupils well and used the concept of maths and science having their own languages effectively to ensure understanding for all pupils. They achieved this through clear overall aims with explanations of key terminology and good individual support.

During the observations of the two maths trainees in School 4, they also worked closely with the bilingual support adults. This helped them elicit explanations from pupils as to how they had arrived at their conclusions.

In both schools the contributions made to maths and science by other cultures, were displayed in the classrooms and corridors. This conveyed a tacit message of recognising a world beyond the required national curriculum demands. The displays went beyond a token gesture as they invited the interaction of pupils by solving particular problems (Field notes, 21.04.05; 24.05.05). The classrooms for all four observations also displayed key words that indicated an awareness of the importance of language across the curriculum (Field notes, 20.04.05; 21.04.05; 19.05.05; 24.05.05).

In contrast, the EAL co-ordinator in School 3 felt that very little was happening in the classrooms in terms of the Key Stage 3 national strategy (School 3, EAL co-ordinator, 1.320). The trainees in this school also lacked confidence in their understanding of language issues, even though they were prospective English teachers. They felt that their



own education had not given them the tools to analyse language (FG 3, 1.105-114). They envied the present pupils, who are being required to address issues of grammar and punctuation through the national literacy framework. Their comments may well reflect a generation of teachers, who do not feel adequately educated in terms of formal English language training.

This lack of understanding of the structure of English grammar was re-echoed in School 4, where the history trainee and one of the maths trainees shared this feeling of inadequacy left from their own education. (FG 4, 1. 486-487).

The argument for more generic training was strongly articulated in Focus Group 4.

*'With the cross curricular themes, there is probably an argument for saying that every teacher has to be competent to teach at least basic say Key Stage 3 level, in English and maths and science.'*

(FG 4, maths trainee 2, 1.479-481)

This particular trainee felt confident with such a generic approach because of her personal history. She had taken 'A' level examinations in English as well as maths and physics. She was also a more mature trainee, who had benefited from a formal approach to teaching English grammar. These personal and socio-cultural factors played a significant role in her level of understanding and confidence in the teaching and learning of language across the curriculum.

According to the EAL co-ordinator this level of awareness was not generally evident across the whole school. The researcher experienced a wide variety during the day spent following a pupil through a variety of lessons (Field notes, 16.06.04). There were missed opportunities for developing speaking and listening skills and understanding generally. In

a history lesson, the teacher invited pupils to work in pairs but did not implement this. Pupils worked individually and some clearly struggled with the written task set (Field notes, lesson at 9.00, 16.06.04). In the religious education lesson that followed, the teacher did check for understanding of terms such as *'leaven'*. However, an opportunity to highlight the use of Hebrew on a poster was ignored (Field notes, lesson at 10.00, 16.06.04). The subsequent maths classroom was devoid of display, although the trainee taking the lesson explained that he planned this lesson carefully and considered the words that the pupils may not understand.

The English and French classrooms had lively displays that encouraged language awareness. However, the two afternoon lessons took place in barren classrooms with teaching that lacked structure and control.

The EAL co-ordinator expressed the isolation that she felt in reality.

*'We've been fairly separate from the literacy strategy...*

*That would be next door.'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, 1.534-5)

Unlike School 2, the EAL departments in Schools 3 and 4 were quite separate from the English departments. This separation represents the lack of true integration that leads to the notion of 'problems' both in terms of pupils and the Standards. The monolingual literacy strategy can easily be viewed as a separate priority unrelated to the teaching and learning of bilingual pupils and those with English as an additional language.

#### **4.2.ii.d National Standards for Qualified Teacher Status in England**

The overall analysis within this research confirms that the idea of having national Standards (cf Appendix One) is welcomed by the participating trainers as the Standards



provide a common framework for training. This raises the question of whether this common framework with its set criteria reflects the whole spectrum of bilingual pupils. As discussed in the Literature Review, there were no specific Standards relating to pupils with EAL prior to 2002 and no mention of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils in schools (cf 2.3.ii).

The EAL co-ordinators and school co-ordinators in Schools 2, 3, and 4 welcomed the inclusion of the EAL perspectives in the national Standards. In school 1 such requirements cause '*problems*', as the school has very few bilingual or EAL pupils. Despite being a training school, that is a school that has government recognition for its high quality of training, there is a gap in provision for the Standards relating to EAL. As the school co-ordinator readily admitted,

*'I would suggest that this is an area that we aren't,  
we can't do, a particularly good job of, certainly  
not in terms of everyday contact.'*

(School 1, school co-ordinator, 1.12-13)

The school relies on the second school placement or the HEIs to plug this gap. For most trainees on a major placement in this school, this will mean a theoretical lesson plan that demonstrates how they would meet the needs of EAL pupils. It may be argued that undertaking this theoretical activity is preferable to ignoring the issues related to EAL pupils. However, this demand to produce a lesson plan without face-to-face experience of EAL pupils is fraught with dangers. Without careful supervision and input from an experienced trainer, it may encourage the perception that EAL pupils fall into one category. The omission of the full range of bilingual pupils in the Standards leads to a deficit model with an emphasis on inadequate English rather than a positive accent on the assets of

bilingualism. The Standards then reflect the monolingual perspective discussed in previous sections.

The government guidance stresses the need to make links between the Standards (TTA, 2003:5). The HEIs also view their aim as responding to the demands made by the standards in as holistic way as possible.

*'We would prefer it to be totally holistic to be honest but...*

*being realistic you have to record against the standards.'*

(HEI 4, Director, 1.366-371)

The reality is that trainers both in schools and HEIs have to ensure that there is sufficient evidence for all the individual boxes to be ticked as successfully completed. The trainees certainly feel under pressure to tick the individual boxes. This can lead to a tick box mentality. As a newly qualified teacher explained

*'It was the last box to be ticked.'*

(HEI 4, humanities newly qualified teacher, 1.33)

This reality was re-echoed by another newly qualified English trainee, as well as the director and subject specialist at HEI 1 and the director of HEI 3. They all reiterated concerns over the demands of this particular standard not being adequately met.

The MFL lecturer and the director at HEI 1 mentioned schools that had responded with '*not applicable*' or where the box had been left blank (HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.172-174). This is clearly unacceptable as all standards must be met by all trainees. In some cases, this meant that trainees only submitted the written evidence of the activities required by the HEIs in connection with these standards. Although this meets the qualifying standards, it reflects a minimal level of competence.



Such incidents exemplify the need for effective partnerships between schools and HEIs which provide checks and balances to ensure the minimum competence level is met. In this respect

*'Standards act as gatekeepers to minimise incompetence rather than maximising potential.'*

(Tickle, 2000:16 )

By involving trainers from both schools and HEIs, it does ensure that trainees receive a minimum coverage of all the Standards. It does not, however, ensure that each Standard is explored to the full or stretched beyond the minimum requirements. In this way, the full range of bilingual pupils is unlikely to be considered when the minimum requirement is to address awareness of pupils with EAL.

Another underlying and serious concern related to these Standards emerged from the MFL lecturer in HEI 1 and the school co-ordinator in school 2. They observed that issues relating to EAL are linked with race and ethnicity.

*'The issue for me that really worries me is the equating of EAL with a dark face'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.176-177)

*'I am almost loath to say it but there is almost a race issue here in that if you look different or you fit into a certain category, then you will be picked up much more quickly.'*

(School 2, school co-ordinator, 1.110-112)

This may well be linked to the concept of high status languages, or additive bilingualism, where the addition of another language to an already high status language is seen as a

benefit that gives no cause for concern (cf. 2.2.i.c.). Languages with lower status, however, are not accorded the same positive attributes and fit more easily into the deficit model purveyed by the emphasis on EAL in the Standards (cf 2.2.i.f.; 2.3. ii.).

**4.2. ii.e Partnership demands**

Table 4.2 below illustrates the interlinking nature of the partnerships between the participating schools and the participating HEIs. All the schools work with three of the HEIs. These are their main but not only partner HEIs. Likewise, the HEIs are involved in other schools.

	HEI 1	HEI 2	HEI 3	HEI 4
School 1	✓	✓		✓
School 2	✓		✓	✓
School 3	✓		✓	✓
School 4	✓	✓		✓

*Table 4.2 Links between participating schools and HEIs*

All trainees now work under the auspices of at least two schools and a HEI (cf 2.3.iii). Even the Graduate Training Programme (GTP), which is predominantly school-based, demands some contact with an HEI.

On the deficit side of partnership, the director of HEI 2 felt that both schools and HEIs had missed opportunities to enter into a full professional debate about the possibilities of working in tandem on initial teacher training. As rehearsed in Furlong and Maynard, 1995, there was some initial resistance to the idea of school-based training with power being wrested from the HEIs (cf 2.3.iii).



On the positive side, all the HEI representatives in this study agreed that schools were an integral part of the training process and quite rightly now performed a central role. With routine termly meetings and regular contact through visiting trainees in schools, the participating HEIs and schools have established effective working relationships. The trainers in schools and HEIs feel supported and trust each others' judgements.

There is evidence in the schools and the HEIs that trainers question and challenge each other based on their knowledge of strengths and weaknesses. HEI 1 and 2 described challenging schools where trainers proclaimed that they had no bilingual or EAL pupils (HEI 1, MFL lecturer, l.172- 174; HEI 2, director, l. ; cf 4.2.ii.c). Likewise, the director of HEI 3 knows the schools where extra training is needed for this aspect of the Standards. This knowledge emerges partly from systematic monitoring but it also depends on the director's own personal commitment to this area after years of teaching in multilingual schools in inner London. The schools also appreciated that the HEIs knew the schools well. School 1 felt confident that the HEIs '*know the nature of the school*' (School 1, school co-ordinator, l.83).

As a national provider, HEI 4 runs the risk of lacking local knowledge. This is overcome by regional staff and an active role for tutors who visit schools regularly and arrange mentor meetings for their groups of schools. This mechanism should allow issues, such as learning to teach bilingual pupils to be raised with individual schools and groups of schools. However, as with the other HEIs, there is unlikely that time allows any in-depth discussion of individual Standards. Coverage of issues relating to bilingual pupils will therefore be ad hoc and dependent on individual HEI trainers' commitment and personal experiences.

HEI 4 has a distinct advantage over the other HEIs in this study as it issues detailed materials to school-based and HEI trainers. These include discussions of the Standards relating to EAL pupils and equal opportunities. As the director explained,

*'Each of the students has a school experience guide  
that details the activities that they must carry out  
during the course and part of those activities will  
be issues related to EAL.'*

(HEI 4, director, l. 42-46)

These materials are available on the internet and therefore accessible to anyone involved in initial teacher training with this HEI. The concern lies with the amount of material provided and whether it is feasible for busy teachers to read it all in detail.

The trainees appreciate the reinforcement they receive from both sides of the partnership. Trainees, from HEI 3, working at School 2 considered the professional development programme provided at the school as *'a reinforcement of university'* (l.261). At School 3, the PGCE trainee from HEI 1 was very aware of the need to take the maximum advantage of this placement in a multilingual school. The HEI staff had emphasised how important this was. This had made him pro-active in searching out materials and information in order to complete tasks set by the university.

#### **4.2. ii.f Local Authority (LA) policies and training**

In addition to the partnership involvement in training, there is the possibility of other local inputs through the local authorities.

The two LAs supporting the schools in this study both have written policies. The one is very much more explicit and detailed. In this LA, advisory staff offer training in the schools both for initial teacher training and further continuing professional development (cf



4.1.iii.). This is very much appreciated by the schools, where they rely on the 'expert' input as a significant part of their initial teacher training professional development studies.

The sessions attended by the researcher in schools 2 and 3 were well planned and executed with thought-provoking activities that involved the trainees in practical situations (cf 4.1.iii.). The sessions were well received by the trainees, who found the planning framework for EAL pupils, produced by the local ethnic minority achievement support service, particularly helpful. This framework builds on prior planning for assessment and learning styles, key headings for planning, including the use of the first language, and finally ideas for the assessment and evaluation of outcomes. The emphasis is firmly on EAL rather than the full spectrum of bilingual pupils, which fits exactly with the requirements for meeting the national Standards.

HEI 2 and 3 appreciate this input and recognise it as an important element of the overall provision. The participants from HEI 4 had a national rather than a local overview. They were not aware of the training. Individual tutors and regional staff may know about this provision but were not involved in this research. On reflection, this was an oversight on the part of the researcher. It also demonstrates the limitation of any research as boundaries have to be set in order to keep the focus clear and make the field work manageable (Stenhouse, 1984:215).

A deficit aspect of the training observed was the absence of mentors at the sessions. This was understandable as the sessions took place during school hours. It is also possible that the mentors in these schools had undertaken similar training as part of their own continuing professional development. It does raise the issue of how mentors support trainees, for example, with the proposed planning framework, if they have not received similar training.

The other LA does not have any formal input into initial teacher training in the schools involved in this study. HEI 1 recognised this difference as there are trainees in both LAs. HEI 3 actually suggested that other trainees visited School 2 and took part in the LA training sessions. As a training school, School 2 willingly agreed to this.

The above details highlight how provision depends on the school context and the LA involvement. This reflects the arbitrary nature of the coverage of EAL and bilingual issues in the training process.

It also raises the issue of mentor involvement in similar training and the importance of mentors following through activities with trainees, if such training is to be used to maximum effect.

On the positive side, LA provision of training can provide an 'expert' overview that is wider than one school but more precisely contextualised than the generic professional development inputs offered by HEIs.

#### **4.2. ii.g Demands arising from the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)**

This national grant focuses on achievement and, ideally, equality of outcome for ethnic minority pupils. This includes EAL pupils and is therefore relevant to the national Standards for initial teacher training.

Until the early 1990s, the grant was administered by local education authorities on behalf of central government. With the shift in financial power, it is now increasingly controlled by individual schools. The EMAG provision impacts on the training experience particularly in relation to the Standards that require trainees to work with other adults in the classroom.



One of the issues raised by Kibler (2005:72) is that unlike the United States, there is no discrete professional qualification for EAL or bilingual teachers. This may lead to marginalised status. Certainly, in Schools 3 and 4 the EAL co-ordinators, who were qualified teachers in English and history, respectively, felt that they played a small role in initial teacher training but it was not as integral as they would have liked.

In comparison the EAL co-ordinator, who was not a qualified teacher, at School 2 contributed regularly and significantly to the professional development programme for initial teacher trainees. She had printed materials that she distributed at sessions which she organised. The trainees commented on how helpful they found her and that the regular inputs she had into staff briefing sessions in the mornings when she updated the whole staff on individual pupils. The school ethos of real inclusion made her feel valued, regardless of her formal qualifications. She was respected for her experience and knowledge.

Three out of the four schools receive funding from this national grant. School 1 has insufficient bilingual pupils to be eligible. This means that individual bilingual pupils with English as an additional language who may pass through this school are subsumed into the special needs department. There were no such pupils in the school at the time of the research but it could provide a negative and deficit model to trainees. As one trainee at this school in FG 1 recalled from his own experience, he had started his education in Britain in a special needs class. As a bright mathematician, he found this experience extremely frustrating.

In such circumstances EAL may be equated with specific learning difficulties. Although special needs now encompasses the entire range of pupils including those who are designated as gifted and talented, the message seemed to be more positive in schools where

EAL was allied with the English department, rather than in the three schools where EAL is seen as part of the special needs remit.

Three out of the four schools now employ their own EMAG staff. The school co-ordinator felt this eliminated any possible conflict of interest between demands from the LEA and the school requirements (School 2, school co-ordinator, l. 219). In this way, the funding is used to meet the local demands of the school rather than being allocated on the priorities as perceived by the LEA. Members of staff employed through EMAG funding are frequently bilingual, reflecting key languages spoken within the school. Potentially, they offer strong role models for pupils and trainees alike.

In School 4, trainees witnessed parents being involved in school through the interpretation service of an Albanian teacher. They also recognised the important role Urdu and Bangladeshi speaking teachers had played in encouraging pupils to write in their home languages for a recent writing competition.

The bilingual adults often teach in the weekend schools, where pupils go to maintain their heritage or home languages. One trainee had visited the local school for pupils of Chinese origin and had been impressed by the dedication of both the teachers and the pupils. These schools are responding to parental and community demands in a way that mainstream schools often fail to attain. By taking the initiative to visit such a school, the trainee was meeting Standards relating to community involvement and the role of parents. The pressure of time means that trainers do not always highlight such opportunities for trainees.

Teaching heritage or home languages at GCSE level took place in all the schools. A dilemma facing schools is the difficulty of providing this facility for all bilingual pupils. Many GCSE classes depend on viable numbers to make classes cost effective. In some



cases, the schools act as an examination centre for the pupils from the community-based schools. The presence of these GCSE examinations heightens the status of the languages within the school and of the participating pupils. They are important indicators to trainees and all those involved in the school community of a positive view of bilingualism.

#### **4.2. ii.h Key findings from national demands**

Some trainers and trainees reported difficulty in covering the national demands, including the relevant Standards. There are six main constraints mentioned consistently.

- A lack of specific data relating to the full spectrum of bilingual pupils
- A lack of specific training in relation to bilingualism and EAL
- A lack of expertise
- A lack of confidence
- A lack of time
- A lack of resources

These signal a deficit model and lead to the perception of the Standards relating to EAL being problematic.

The lack of accurate data in terms of linguistic background proves a stumbling block, especially in schools like School 1, where there appear to be few bilingual pupils. The combination of a strong emphasis on ethnicity rather than linguistic background in league tables and the stress on linguistic information being used to highlight need for support with English militate against a national survey of languages in schools being used in a transformative way to introduce a more positive multilingual perspective.

Schools collect their own information for school purposes but this reflects the national demands for information about pupils with EAL rather than the whole spectrum of bilingualism. There may be underlying racial and ethnic undertones in the identification of

bilingual pupils or pupils with EAL. Schools that claim to have no bilingual pupils in their intake may be relying on visual or aural clues rather than a thorough survey of linguistic diversity within the school.

Several issues arise in terms of training. Trainees would welcome more generic training with EAL and bilingualism forming an integral part of the Key Stage Three Strategy. They are aware of some positive strategies for ensuring understanding, teaching key vocabulary and instigating discussion activities. However, there was an absence of awareness in the interviews and observations in relation to valuing the full range of bilingual pupils. The main mention of bilingualism appears to be the use of bilingual adults and possibly bilingual peers to support the development of English for early stage English language learners.

HEIs provide generic training, which can appear tokenistic out of the context of the school. It is acknowledged that some schools provide better training than others in this field and efforts are made to compensate for lack of relevant school experience for trainees.

The school placement is then crucial for individual trainees. HEIs are aware that they can not overload schools that have significant numbers of pupils with EAL. There is then a need to raise awareness in all schools of the need for accurate information about the full range of bilingual pupils. Awareness of trainers and trainees in this research depends on personal experiences and history, rather than theoretical knowledge and understanding through formal education.

EAL co-ordinators played varying roles in initial teacher training. Although formal qualifications may denote status, the underlying key to the use and respect of the EAL co-ordinators appear to lie in the policies, attitudes and values promoted by individual schools.



Where equal opportunities and inclusion are translated into practice, rather than remaining a paper exercise, areas such as EAL, become an integral part of the thinking and practice in the school. This integration impacts on EAL co-ordinators' role in initial teacher training.

One EAL co-ordinator was dismissive of national directives and resources.

*'National policies. I am generally aware of what is going on, but I have to say that it doesn't seem to impact generally on what we do on a day to day basis, to be perfectly honest. (Laughs)'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, l. 351 – 354)

However, this reflects a confidence borne out of specific training and supported by considerable experience. For less well trained and experienced trainers and trainees, an insecurity about personal knowledge of language and their own classroom practice comes through several subject specialisms.

The lack of training leads to a lack of expertise and confidence. The EAL co-ordinators highlighted confidence as an issue.

*'When it comes to practicality in class, there are a lot of teachers who do not feel that they have the skills to deal with it.'*

(School 3, EAL co-ordinator, l.243-245)

If this lack of confidence is evident in experienced teachers, it may contribute to an explanation as to why trainees feel dissatisfied with training in this field.

The HEI participants expressed concern that some of the schools that they had to use in their partnerships did not have expertise in this area.

*'It's is a fairly monolingual area it has to be said. So, it is quite difficult to ensure that they get the experience in school.'*

(HEI 3, Director, 1.81-82)

They also identified gaps in expertise in their own trainers' knowledge. One proactive strategy to help counteract this was the setting up of a working party to offer advice to mentors and subject specialists within the HEI (HEI 2, director, 1.289-298). Although all the HEIs have themes, such as EAL, threaded through a common framework, the participants were honest enough to admit that expertise varied from subject to subject.

HEI 4 is the most proactive in trying to overcome discrepancies as there is a common format for all the materials. However, for a trainee seeking advice from trainers, responses may still vary in terms of experience and confidence of the trainer.

A lack of time was mentioned by trainers and trainees alike. If the whole spectrum of bilingualism and the full range of EAL are taken seriously, many confirmed the reservations expressed by one school co-ordinator.

*'Actually it becomes such a massive issue that nobody in ten months of training could possibly ever hope to meet.'*

(School 2, School Co-ordinator, 1. 359-361)

The pressures brought about by the external demand to meet all the Standards led another school co-ordinator to admit that

*'It's quite tough to meet them all and quite often one is waived through.'*

(School 3, School Co-ordinator 3, 1.261-262).



The waiving through indicates that some Standards may be covered at an absolutely minimal level. If trainers and trainees do not have a sense of how the Standards relate to each other and fail to make the connections in a holistic manner, then gaps may appear through a tokenistic coverage of the national Standards and demands.

The lack of time is compounded for some by the lack of resources, both human and in terms of materials. The HEI participants seemed aware of some suitable resources that are included in the modules. However, some trainers in the schools felt they were pulling on limited human resources either in terms of lack of pupils as in School 1 or in terms of staff who understood the issues relating to pupils with EAL in school 1 and 3. Another resource deficit was in terms of materials which disappoint.

*'I remember sending off for some booklets a while ago  
from the DfES about working with bilingual pupils  
and actually I looked through and thought 'Well, I know  
all that.' It may sound arrogant but I don't feel that  
there is a lot of guidance coming from there either.'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, l. 357 – 361)

The *'either'* in the above statement refers to the Local Education Authority. Both LEAs had centres that loan materials to schools and so some of the complaints may be due to lack of knowledge and expertise.

HEIs play a key role in providing materials and theoretical background information that will allow trainees to go on learning beyond their initial teacher training period. They also play a key role in offering training to their own staff and school-based trainers. There is little evidence of this happening in a systematic way, other than through materials provided by HEI 4.

A further possible negative connotation is that discrete Standards relating to EAL pupils may be perceived by trainers and trainees as additions to rather than integral parts of the teaching and learning process. The successful implementation of the Key Stage Three Strategy could alleviate this perception if bilingualism was incorporated as part of the literacy skills. The opportunity to make language diversity a core of the literacy strategy has been missed. It will take creativity and drive on the part of HEIs and schools to interpret the present demands in a positive light where linguistic diversity is valued and acknowledged.

On the negative side, there is a danger that the minimum competence of a paper exercise relating to EAL pupils will suffice for trainees to successfully complete their initial teacher training. This minimum competence model warned about by Tickle (2000:16) may not be extended to practical experience or to the inclusion of all bilingual pupils. There was wide spread concern among the trainers and the trainees that these specific Standards were not being adequately met. This concern reflects the findings of the TTA survey (TTA, 2004).

All these constraints contribute significantly to the notion of the Standards relating to EAL being troublesome and problematic.

#### **4.2. iii School demands and policies**

Two of the school policies followed in this research strongly underlined the 'weak' forms of bilingual education in terms of submersion with in-class support or withdrawal, (Baker, 2004:116/117;cf Table 4.3), rather than stronger forms of additive bilingualism where the emphasis is on recognising the assets related to bilingualism (Cummins, 1984).

School 2 and 4 have EAL policies which see bilingualism as an asset. The Headteacher of the time in School 4 and the Deputy Headteacher, who is also the school co-ordinator, in



School 2 provided a strong leadership role by insisting that pupils were placed in sets according to ability in the subject rather than ability in English. They encouraged school events that celebrated bilingualism and had signs put up in other languages as well as English. This positive acclamation was more covert in School 2 but nonetheless acknowledged. School 3 lacked a coherent plan and School 1 did not acknowledge the area as one that is relevant to their intake of pupils.

The following tables 4.3. – 4.5. detail key elements of the four school policies in relation to bilingualism and English as an additional language. Only two of the schools had written policies and those are related purely to pupils with EAL rather than the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. In both schools these policies were separate documents but were viewed as part of the equality of opportunity policy.

EAL Issues	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
EAL linked to English and languages	X	✓	X	X
EAL linked to SEN	✓	X	X	X
Withdrawal to EAL room	X	✓	✓	✓
Withdrawal to SEN room	✓	X	X	X
In Class support	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bilingual support	X	✓	✓	✓

*Table 4.3 The status of EAL within the participating schools*

School 2 is the only school in this case study to place EAL firmly within the English and languages faculty. Until recently it was part of the special needs department but the move

to English has been a success. EAL is viewed more positively and gives out an overt signal that it is a resource that is firmly part of the mainstream.

*'I used to be part of special needs. And it didn't fit. It isn't right...And now we're in the right faculty and that faculty is very, very, good at promoting EAL, as well as myself.'*

(School 2, EAL co-ordinator 1.195-197)

School 1 tends to link EAL to special needs as happened in the 1970s across England (cf Table 4.3). This practice is based on a special needs department with a good reputation for encompassing a wide range of need. The school argues that it has so few EAL pupils that this department has the best skills to help new arrivals with little English. Such well-intentioned argument ignores the covert message that EAL equates to a special need rather than an asset or resource. This is reinforced by withdrawal in the early stages to the special educational needs unit.

This pragmatic response highlights the different issues that arise in schools where there are very few bilingual pupils or pupils with English as an additional language. Only the most recently trained members of staff have any formal training as part of their initial induction into the profession. Any knowledge or experience of bilingual issues for teachers trained prior to 2002 would rely on teachers' personal histories and previous schools.

Withdrawal is common to all the participating schools, with early stage EAL learners being withdrawn for some of their lessons. Only School 3 withdraws new arrivals for the initial two weeks. EAL co-ordinators argue strongly that this gives pupils a sense of security and belonging. The researcher spoke informally to pupils in the withdrawal rooms in all three



schools (cf Field notes 07.03.05). The pupils confirmed that they appreciated having a place where they felt safe and at ease.

Pupils and EAL co-ordinators also valued the opportunity this offered for new arrivals to build a relationship with a member of staff, who can be trusted and turned to in times of stress.

*'I think anybody moving from a different culture needs something to attach themselves to... They may be proficient but they won't be proficient in everything. They may have still have confidence issues.'*

(School 2, EAL co-ordinator, 1.510-511...520-521)

The researcher witnessed the warmth of atmosphere in the EAL room in this school. Pupils, including balanced bilinguals in the sixth form, came at lunchtimes to work together and share the security and friendship created in this room.

*'We all feel good. We all feel the same. We are all immigrants and I prefer it here to the canteen or the library where people can be really nasty and call you immigrant.'*

(Field notes, 07.03.05, School 2, Year 8 pupil)

This sharp contrast in pupils' experiences in the EAL room and around the school generally highlights issues of equality of opportunity and social justice within the school. The school, especially the EAL co-ordinator, was aware of these tensions that pupils experienced around the school. The lunchtime homework club was a positive strategy to help pupils cope. The whole school issue was dealt with through assemblies, personal, social, health and citizenship lessons and tackling individually reported cases.

Within the security of the lunchtime club, older pupils help younger ones using their home languages as required. This created a buzz of diverse languages, which the trainees, who joined in the lunchtime sessions, found stimulating and illuminating. The walls were covered with pupils' work from a range of subject areas and in a range of languages. The EAL co-ordinator described how some trainees found it '*addictive*' and kept coming along to help at lunchtimes. This allowed trainees to become acquainted with pupils in an informal setting and ask questions which they would not have time or would not be appropriate during lessons.

The recently set up 'Welcome Room' in School 3 did not have the same feeling. The atmosphere was more formal as were the teaching styles. The displays were printed materials concerned with grammar points rather than pupils' work. The work undertaken in the lesson observed and in pupils' notebooks did not reflect mainstream work. The teaching seemed to concentrate on disjointed vocabulary based on objects, such as hole punchers, found around the room.

This reflected a style of teaching dominant in the 1970s (Derrick, 1971) rather than the communicative or partnership teaching advocated by Bourne, 1989. It certainly fell far short of Cummins' (2000:45) proposal for transformative pedagogy that involves teachers and learners in a collaborative process of critical literacy and debate. Far from being '*language detectives*' (Cummins, 2000:20), the pupils in the withdrawal room appeared to be passive recipients of teacher knowledge. This did not provide as positive an experience for trainees as School 2 (Field notes, 13.12.04). This observation raised questions about who might debrief trainees who may have had similar experiences.

All schools offered in class support with three out of the four attempting to match bilingual support to their pupils where appropriate. Most trainees in Schools 2, 3, and 4 had



experience of working with another adult in a support role which helped fulfil further Standards. The maths trainees observed in School 4 commented on how well the support staff knew the pupils. This was echoed in School 2.

Another aspect of school policy is assessment.

Assessment	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Setting according to subject ability rather than level of English	X	✓	X	✓
Examinations in home or heritage languages	✓	✓	✓	✓

*Table 4.4 Assessment procedures in relation to EAL in the participating schools*

Schools 2 and 4 set according to ability in the subject rather than proficiency in English. This meant that there was a spread of bilingual and EAL pupils throughout the sets. This reflected the inclusion and equal opportunities practices in these schools. The head teachers in both schools believed strongly in the enactment of the principles of social justice.

In the other two schools, the level of English was a consideration in setting. This reinforces the notion of linguistic diversity as a problem rather than a resource. School 1 had very few EAL pupils passing through the school and had not had occasion to consider the full implications of their actions. School 3 did not appear to have an encompassing set of principles in the same way as Schools 2 and 4. According to the School Co-ordinator decisions were more ad hoc. It was considered easier to have EAL pupils together and offer additional support to those classes. Once more as Gillborn and Youdell (2000) note pragmatism rather than a clear set of principles determined practice.

However, all schools reinforced the concept of languages other than English being a resource through entering pupils for examinations in their home or heritage languages

where possible. On occasions this involved working with weekend and community language classes.

Finally, there were whole school policies that affect the overall message of linguistic diversity as a problem or a resource.

Whole School	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Survey of languages	X	✓	✓	✓
Multilingual signs	X	✓	✓	✓
Translation and interpretation Services	X	✓	✓	✓
Multi-lingual events	X	✓	X	✓
Multi-cultural events	✓	✓	X	✓

*Table 4.5 Whole school policies associated with linguistic diversity*

As the above table indicates, School 1 has some celebration of different cultural events but does not consider language as a resource relevant to the particular school context beyond the usual teaching of modern foreign languages. The other schools present more positive images of languages other than English with schools 2 and 4 actively celebrating linguistic diversity as a resource and asset for the whole school.

**4.2.iii.a Key findings from School demands and policies**

In this research, the participating schools and HEIs have established effective partnerships which support and challenge the training that takes place. However, coverage of issues, such as those relating to EAL pupils, rely not only on systematic monitoring but on personal commitment and confidence of individual trainers. HEIs provide generic training, which can appear tokenistic out of the context of the school. It is acknowledged that some



schools provide better training than others in this field and efforts are made to compensate for lack of relevant school experience for trainees.

The school placement is then crucial for individual trainees. HEIs are aware that they can not overload schools that have significant numbers of pupils with EAL. There is then a need to raise awareness in all schools of the need for accurate information about the full range of bilingual pupils.

On the positive side, there is evidence that trainees benefit from pro-active models in schools where the policies relating to other languages are inclusive and actively celebrate linguistic diversity. Explicit activities and good links with heritage language classes send positive messages to trainees. For the trainees, visits to initiatives, such as weekend and community language classes, contribute to other national Standards relating to community and parental involvement, as well as illuminating aspects of the Standards relating to EAL pupils. Parental and community involvement in the school provide potential strong models for viewing bilingualism in a positive light.

Informal contact with bilingual pupils plays an important part in trainees building up knowledge and confidence in this area. In schools 2, 3 and 4, where trainees are encouraged to join in lunchtime sessions and extra curricular activities, the trainees appreciated being able to ask questions and explore individual experiences. Pupils feel at ease in these environments and spoke freely about the name-calling they endured and the benefits they experienced by being bilingual.

On the negative side, policies relating to inclusion did not always lead to positive practice. Examples, such as the separate withdrawal unit for new arrivals in school 3 conveyed a covert deficit message. This practice raises concerns about the debriefing of trainees if

they observed a lesson based on outmoded practice, where pupils were clearly not learning very much of relevance to the curriculum. This relates back to the constraints of time and expertise (4.2.ii.h.).

At present, the practice of incorporating EAL departments varies from school to school and there is no evidence in the four participating schools of serious consideration as to how the full range of bilingual pupils fits into this strategy. The official emphasis on minority ethnic pupils and pupils EAL does not further the vision of full inclusion for all bilingual pupils.

#### 4.2. iv Personal Demands

This section examines the influence of personal experiences and histories on the initial teacher training process in relation to bilingual pupils.

12% of the total participants had experience of operating in more than one language firmly embedded in their social and cultural capital and identified themselves as balanced or competent bilinguals. With the exception of one EAL co-ordinator, these were all trainees rather than trainers. This may underline a potential gap between the experience of the trainees and the trainers. Far from appearing a 'problem', the bilingual trainees viewed the positive assets as a resource. For example,

*'It makes you more flexible. You understand the differences  
between this country and that country.'*

(FG 1, TR 12 l.161-163)

The modern foreign linguists did not class themselves as bilingual, although they are required to have 'near native proficiency' in the target language which they teach



([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk) ). Many made a link with the need to be bi-cultural in order to claim bilingualism (cf 2.2.i.d).

It is interesting to note that amongst the high status trainers, there is no-one, who designates themselves as bilingual. The EAL co-ordinators do not have a formal training role. When asked about other possible bilingual staff in the HEIs who are involved in initial teacher training, there was no-one outside of the Modern Foreign Languages field. There are other staff in School 4 who are bilingual and are involved in initial teacher training as mentors or subject teachers. For example, there are three members of the maths department who are bilingual. These provide positive role models for the trainees and pupils alike.

For the majority of the fifty-eight participants in this study, bilingualism is not part of what Bourdieu (1998) would term '*their social and educational capital*', in other words, the knowledge and attitudes that are part of living in a particular culture (cf 2.2.iv.). The social and educational capital of monolingual and bilingual participants had an impact on their view of bilingualism. The bilingual participants understand the advantages and view the process of using additional languages in a more positive light. They are aware of initial difficulties that may arise for a newcomer into the secondary school system but understand the flexibility and the value of becoming bilingual.

For monolinguals, the demands of learning a foreign language at school had often left a negative experience of language learning.

*'I would love to learn a language but somehow I just  
have a mental block when it comes to it.'*

(FG 1, Trainee 7, l. 65-66).

This apprehension about learning languages is borne out by a recent survey reported in the Independent newspaper (Cassidy, 23.02.2006). This reports that 62% of Britons can not

speak another language other than their mother tongue. The title *‘Britons bottom of the table for learning a foreign language’* reflects the low status associated with learning additional languages in Britain. This is further confirmed by the reduction in numbers of pupils taking GCSE modern languages ([www.tes.co.uk](http://www.tes.co.uk), 24.08.2006).

In twenty-seven cases out of the thirty-seven trainees interviewed in focus groups, the vacuum in terms of social capital had been filled by second-hand experiences of family or friends who had become bilingual or learned another language. This includes the thirteen modern foreign linguists and two other bilinguals who also have first-hand experience of the benefits of bilingualism. These experiences built important bridges between the possible gaps in experience of bilinguals and monolinguals.

Participant	Positive Experiences
	Related to family
FG 1,Tr 6, 1.44	<i>‘My wife speaks three, four languages fluently.’</i>
FG 1, Tr 8, 1.77	Brother’s children speaking one language at home and another in school in Ghana.
FG 1, Tr 9, 1.95-98	Daughter at a state primary school with pupils who speak a wide range of languages. All learning French and Italian. <i>‘It’s just fun to them. They just get on with it.’</i>
	Related to friends
FG 1,Tr 2 1.15	Moved from Argentina. Now speak fluent English.
FG 1,Tr 6,1.49	Lots of friends who have brought up children bilingually.
	Related to work
FG 1,Tr 3, 1.17-19	PhD abroad. English used at work but aware of others speaking up to four other languages.
FG 1, Tr 6, 1.50	Working for an Italian firm. <i>‘They all speak two or three languages.’</i>
FG 1, Tr 9, 1.83-84	Worked in Hungary and Thailand and learned enough of the languages to get by
Participant	Negative Experiences
	Related to own schooling
FG 1,Tr 4, 1.27-29	Other languages spoken at home but never in school
FG 1,Tr 5,1.38	There may have been bilingual pupils at school but it never really showed
	Related to post-school attempts to learn
FG 1,Tr 6, 1.60-61	<i>‘I find it not just time constraints but the whole kind of process is difficult.’</i>

Table 4.6 *Anecdotal evidence of personal experiences related by Focus Group 1*



The exchange of these anecdotes helped to elucidate different aspects of bilingualism for the trainees involved. In this way, they contributed to peer learning. Examples of positive and negative experiences associated with bilingualism that arose through anecdotes recounted in Focus Group 1. These personal contributions helped enliven the debate and illustrated a wide range of experiences in the group. The school co-ordinator commented after the session that he had found it illuminating to realise the breadth of experience within the group. The anecdotes also highlighted underlying attitudes and beliefs.

In Focus Group 1, ten out of the twelve trainees were mature students who had some experience of living, working or being friends with a bilingual person. Two trainees, who did not have any experiences to contribute, talked in positive terms about bilingualism but one mentioned her own mental block when trying to learn languages. The other recounted anecdotes recalled by a teaching assistant in a multilingual school in London. She raised the issue that

*'It's quite easy if they don't understand to treat them  
as if they are not intelligent.'*

(1.149-150)

Without personal experience or theoretical knowledge to draw on, she was trying to make sense of the accounts. The 'them' and 'us' syndrome appeared to be firmly rooted in her discourse.

In contrast, two of the trainees spoke more than one language and, although only one defined himself as bilingual, the other was bilingual, in terms of fluent use of several languages, albeit not perfect use. Their positive attitudes to bilingualism were informative and thought-provoking for the rest of the group.

In Focus Group 2, two trainees had family experience of bilingualism. One of the maths trainees came from Wales and an English trainee had a mother who was fluent in Danish and English. The trainee from Wales had had some exposure to Welsh in primary school and a Welsh speaking mother. Neither had been brought up bilingually, despite research that shows that it is usually the mother who transfers their own language (Burck, 2005). They both regretted this. The other five offered no previous experiences of bilingualism.

In Focus Group 3, both participants had family who were bringing up their children bilingually, one in France and the other as a French teacher in England. As prospective English teachers, they both viewed this positively. *'It will help their linguistic development'* (FG 3, Trainee 2, 1.40). These are examples of additive bilingualism, where the first language, English, has high status and is maintained alongside the subsequent languages (Baker, 2004; Cummins, 1984; cf 2.1.c.). Both trainees, with English as their specialism, envied their peers with modern foreign languages backgrounds as

*'I think people who can speak more than one language  
and have the linguistics side have a distinct advantage  
when it comes to teaching English.'*

(FG 3 Tr 2 1.48-49)

This advantage was borne out in Focus Group 5, which consisted entirely of modern foreign language trainees. Although only six out of the twelve considered themselves to be bilingual, there is a requirement for near native-speaker proficiency in order to embark on training to become a modern foreign language teacher. This group, therefore, discussed in much more technical and theoretical terms the issues relating to bilingualism. The interesting theme emerging from this discussion was four references to *'mistakes'*. This focus on errors may account for why so many did not consider themselves to be bilingual. They did not seem to appreciate Coulmas' point that



*'imperfection is an inherent feature of human behaviour  
and the workings of the human mind.'*

(Coulmas, 2000:4)

There was only one trainee in Focus Group 4 who considered himself a *'weird'* bilingual as he only had receptive understanding of his original first language. His was an extreme case of subtractive bilingualism (Baker, 2004; Cummins, 1984). His mother had insisted on all her children speaking English rather than her first language of Twi, even though they were brought up in Ghana. The other three trainees drew predominantly on the current experience in School 4 for examples of EAL and bilingualism. This again emphasises the importance of the school context in initial teacher training.

#### **4.2. iv.a Key findings from personal demands**

In the main these anecdotes reveal a respect and positive stance towards bilingualism. However, when viewed within the secondary school setting, the *'problem'* issues of keeping up academically continue to be aired.

The difference between the social and educational capital of monolinguals and bilinguals is an important area for further exploration and research. There are indications that the underlying beliefs and attitudes are different with bilinguals viewing linguistic diversity with more detailed understanding than the more superficial comments, such as *'amazing'* or expressions of wonder that newly arrived pupils from different language backgrounds manage at all in the secondary environment.

Three categories of experience relating to bilingualism appear to emerge from this analysis. Firstly, there are trainers and trainees who identify themselves as bilinguals or are bilingual by dint of teaching another language other than English. They view bilingualism positively as encouraging flexibility and allowing alternative cultural and social viewpoints. They

perceive the academic benefits whilst acknowledging the need for careful teaching in the initial stages of learning a language.

The second group consist of those who have experienced bilingualism vicariously through family, friends or their working environment. Although many of the examples cited by this group related to additive bilingualism, there was generally a positive view about the assets of being bilingual.

The third group were monolinguals, who appeared to have no experience or negative experiences to draw on. The negative experiences often related to their own attempts to learn another language in school. They articulated the idea discussed by Burck (2005:170) that learning languages was a natural attribute that they did not have. This in some way excused their failure to learn other languages. This attitude denies the hard work and motivation involved in learning more than one language and provides an excuse for monolinguals.

The trainers fell mainly into the second group. However, it is important to note that the trainers were self selected or selected by their institution on the basis of their interest or experience in this field. They may not therefore be representative of a wide sample of trainers.

The trainees were more randomly selected as their attendance was viewed as part of their training. Again, the majority fell into the second category.

Despite the predominantly positive personal attitudes to bilingualism expressed by the participants, the underlying deficit model of an emphasis on early stage bilinguals and EAL pupils in need of support still emerged.



# **Data Analysis**

## **Debates**

### 4.3 Introduction to the data analysis – Debates

This section of the data analysis examines two of the key debates that have emerged from the data. It considers how these debates impinge on issues relating to bilingualism and initial teacher training in secondary schools in England. Firstly, it addresses the possible repercussions created by the tension between theory and practice in initial teacher training. Secondly, it examines the potential impact of the holistic versus the reductionist approach to initial teacher training

#### 4.3. i Theory and Practice

The debate about theory and practice in initial teacher training has shifted significantly over a twenty year period to more collaborative ways of working between HEIs and schools in England. In the public image the HEIs provide the theoretical side of the training whilst schools support the practice. Effective partnerships have led to more dialogue and an erosion of the theory/practice divide.

The myth of teaching requiring little training (Cochran-Smith, 2005:12) is particularly pertinent to employment led training, such as the Graduate Training Programme (GTP). These programmes were established to give maximum power to schools in terms of controlling the recruitment of trainees and their assessment. The involvement of an HEI is minimal in some models. This leads to a strong emphasis on practice and a reliance on the school placement that is even more crucial than the PGCE programmes. The trainees in School 3 were particularly aware of the difference in emphasis in their training between the PGCE and the GTP as was the MFL lecturer at HEI 1.

*'My worry about the GTP is... that there is far less sharing of theories than you get in the PGCE. As far as the trainees are concerned, and individual schools, are far more isolated*



*in its position as a training partner. So.. it's a much more fragmented course and it's got to be...They[the trainees] don't benefit from all this coming back together and the sharing, comparing and contrasting that we can do on the PGCE course.'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1. 301-304; 315-317)

An analysis of the data in this research shows a general consensus for Cummins' view of theory being an integral part of practice (Cummins, 2000:10). There was very little criticism offered concerning the gap between the theoretical and practical side of the training by either trainers or trainees. This may indicate that the partnership between the participating schools and HEIs works effectively in the collaborative model described by Furlong et al. (2000:79-82).

*'Schools and HEIs recognise the legitimacy and difference of each other's contribution.'*

(Furlong et al., 2000:81)

In order to prepare trainees for their school placements, the MFL lecturer at HEI 1 makes every effort to promote lateral thinking in the trainees. She is mindful of a popular perception amongst trainees that there is a gap between theory and practice. Pre-warning trainees has proved an effective strategy for combating the demoralising effect of perceived gaps between theory and practice.

*'We are giving the ideal and they [the schools] are dealing with the reality and somewhere in the middle it meets.'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.583-584)

This was borne out by trainees, who acknowledged the support given at HEI and school level to help them reconcile potential differences between theory and practice (Focus Group 3, 1.261). The school-based trainers also felt supported.

*'In terms of theory, ...the universities would back us up on that.'*

(School 4, School Co-ordinator, 1.127-128)

The risk here is that schools, such as School 1, may rely on the HEIs to cover issues relating to EAL and bilingualism, which the school does not cover as part of its daily practice.

Alternatively, it may demonstrate how the imposed political consensus has led to theory reflecting practice and vice versa far more than in the professionally autonomous period prior to 1988, when the National Curriculum came into force (Furlong et al., 2000; Kirk, 2000; Tickle, 1987).

The director at HEI 2 has a very clear vision of their role as a university within the education of teachers.

*'We can't judge what we do by the number of new teachers that go through the doors. It should be about the ideas that we have generated, or about the thinking and new understandings that we have come up with; how we've moved the debate on.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.107-113)

This emphasis on intellectual rigour is vital if initial teacher training is to produce teachers who think beyond the tick boxes of the minimum competences and challenge the deficit model so often related to EAL and bilingualism.



The following table shows key ideas arising from the data in relation to the theory/practice debate. These form the basis for the following analysis. The analysis includes semi-structured interviews with individual trainers and trainees and focus groups of trainees, classroom observations, field notes and written materials from the HEIs and schools.

Theory – HEI led	Practice – School led
<b>Positive features</b>	<b>Positive features</b>
• New knowledge	• Established practice
• New understandings	• Understandings based on experience
• Intellectually coherent	• Practically viable
• Principled framework	• Pragmatic action
• Non-contextually based knowledge	• Contextually based knowledge. Importance of school context
• Stimulate on-going learning process. ‘Long-term self development’ (Tickle, 1987:1)	• ‘Trainees learn on their feet with individual children as they are all different.’ (School 3, Science mentor, 1.75-76)
• Peer learning	• Learning nuts and bolts from Experienced teachers
• Taking stock and evaluating	• Positive acculturation
• Making connections between theory and practice	
<b>Negative elements or risks</b>	<b>Negative elements or risks</b>
• Ignore theory, except when being observed by tutor as too many practical concerns. (FG 2, PE GTP trainee, 1.244-245)	• Reactive rather than pro-active
• Need for more theoretical knowledge and understanding of the role of language and languages across the curriculum	• ‘Nothing to do with us’ type of practitioners.
• Missed opportunities for developing theory with practitioners	• Negative acculturation

Table 4.7 Summary of key points arising from the data related to the debate concerning theory and practice arising from the data.

4.3. i.a New knowledge and knowledge based on established practice

New knowledge is primarily generated by research in the public domain and by personal experience at the individual level. As the director of HEI 2 explained, prior to formal partnerships with schools, the HEIs promoted research into the whole process of training

new teachers and this institution continues to do this (HEI 2, director, 1.159-162). Such educational research aims to inform the initial teacher training process but can, at times, be in conflict with the external demands coming from central government. This is confirmed by Furlong et al. (2000:119-138). There is then a potential tension between delivering the required Standards and maintaining a principled intellectual framework.

Since the advent of the partnership model of training in the 1990s, the director of HEI 2 felt that the emphasis has shifted from HEI instigated research to research based in schools. HEI 2 is particularly concerned with promoting new knowledge through this school-based research process. The director sees it as part of their core mission as a university to promote reflection and analysis within their trainees. The teacher educators are concerned that trainees develop their own principles.

*'It's not about handy tips for teachers.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.225)

Rather it is about

*'ways of looking; ways of noticing;*

*ways of understanding.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.236)

The teacher educators at HEI 2 and HEI 4 constantly undertake and publish generic research, for example, on how trainees learn to teach. This provides a firm theoretical base for the general framework of teaching and learning. It has not as yet been extended to examine specific groups, such as bilingual pupils.

All the participating HEI trainers encourage trainees to undertake their own research in schools. In HEI 2 in science, trainees compile a case study of one EAL pupil, which they share with others in the group. The ethics of this are discussed by the HEI and the



participating schools. This helps trainees develop a theoretical framework as well as a practical outcome (HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.93-116). As Furlong et al (2000:35) highlight, these school-based activities are mutually beneficial to the trainees, and the trainers at the HEIs in terms of their knowledge and understanding of their partner schools. It also benefits the schools themselves. Participants at all four HEIs gave examples of how trainees had helped to raise awareness of the number of pupils with languages other than English in certain schools, especially where there was no collection of data on pupils' linguistic diversity (HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.109-111; HEI 3, director, 1. 236-242; HEI 4, director, 1.47-57). The following example reflects the major concerns.

*'As a result of the conversations that I have had with trainees and mentors, the school has then discovered and identified a number of kids, who are in that position, they are speaking Italian or something at home and are operating in English at school.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.181-185)

From this deficit position of a lack of information, mentors also reveal a deficit model to defend their ignorance of other linguistic assets. The above lecturer challenges the assumption that *'It doesn't matter because they are managing fine,'* (HEI 2, Director, 1.186) by suggesting that higher expectations and a pro-active celebration could lead to further developments in linguistic talents. The complacent attitude of pupils coping, as expressed above, is particularly worrying when it happens within the modern foreign languages field, where awareness of other languages should be high.

The confidence to challenge attitudes in this way depends on the awareness and personal experience and training of the trainers. The participants from the HEIs were conscious that

every HEI trainer may not be confident in this area as they are unlikely to have had formal training and may lack relevant personal experiences.

Ideally, however, through the constant process of trainee activities and subsequent conversations, new knowledge feeds into new understandings whilst being firmly based on practice and experience within the schools.

This was particularly evident in the examples quoted from HEI 1 and 2 where trainees' questions stimulated conversations about the numbers of potential bilingual pupils in specific schools. Trainee 1 in School 3 appreciated the activities required by HEI 1 as a means of learning more about individual pupils and the procedures in the school. The humanities trainee from HEI 4 remembered only a brief relevant unit from the HEI (Trainee 4, 1.60). However, she was on school placement at School 2 and found the LEA training programme very helpful. She also appreciated the activities arising from the materials provided by HEI 4 and the school that required trainees to look at specific strategies that teachers used with EAL pupils (Trainee 4, 1.70-74). Now in her first year of teaching, she is applying these techniques in her own lessons (Trainee 4, 1.97, 106-107).

#### **4.3. i.b New understandings based on experience**

Through observation and working with bilingual pupils, the trainees in Focus Groups 2, 3, and 4 gave practical examples of how their understanding of EAL pupils had improved by observing established practice. 29 of the 42 anecdotes collected during the interviews were from trainees (cf Appendix Nine).

On the positive side, a modern foreign language trainee in Focus Group 5 talked about how much she had learned from her school placement where languages were encouraged and viewed as a positive asset (Focus Group 5, Trainee 4, 1.229). This contrasted with other



anecdotes in this group of modern foreign linguists, which highlighted more negative features. These included the lack of provision (Focus Group 5, Trainee 5, 1.110-13) and the lack of recognition of linguistic talents in modern foreign languages for fluent speakers of languages other than English (Focus Group 5, Trainee 2, 1.165-171; Trainee 4, 1.224-226; Trainee 10, 1.382).

Trainees in this subject specialist focus group readily exchanged anecdotes such as fluent German speakers who were left to their own devices during lessons (Focus Group 5, Trainee 4 1. 249-258). Three trainees noted the emotional reactions of alienation, boredom, and frustration caused by this view of linguistic competence as a problem rather than a resource to be celebrated (Focus Group 5, Trainee 5, 1.113-114 and 1.177-178; Trainee 2, 1.166-168; Focus group 3 Trainee 2, 1.531). The outrage at such treatment was tangible within the group. As trainees, they felt powerless to change or challenge the system for fear of failing the course.

This highlights one of the difficulties of schools having the predominant role in assessing trainees. It is also a practical lesson in the politics of schools. Such incidents may prompt trainees to ask how they may deal with such conflicts of principle when they start teaching. As the MFL lecturer in HEI 1 noted, it is important for trainees to be alert to the potential gaps between the ideal and practice (1.581-586).

Most of these examples were based on pupils with additive bilingualism from perceived high status European languages. This raises questions about equality of opportunity and expectations and the need to guard against a Western Eurocentric view. There is a need to challenge the perceived status of individual languages and the need to ensure accurate knowledge of perceived minority cultures and languages in order to avoid statements such as

*'I had a two week pre-placement in a school that had pupils from some Asian country. I am sorry, I don't know the names of the countries. They were all taken out for English lessons and reading and main things like that. They worked in twos together with a teacher and went through what the other teacher was doing in class. Obviously, they were going to be trailing behind and you have to keep the others up to certain standards.'*

(English Trainee 1, l. 36-42)

Such ignorance was rare in the participating trainees, most of whom had taken on the responsibility of becoming better informed. It does, however, reflect the importance of personal histories and previous experience. Trainers cannot afford to assume basic knowledge of different cultures, ethnicity, or languages. The training process needs to allow for discussion of attitudes, such as those revealed by statements like, *'Obviously, they were going to be trailing behind'* (English Trainee 1, l.41).

The challenge for trainers is how to ensure knowledge and understanding. There is potential to use trainees' experiences to highlight issues across the whole spectrum of bilingualism. HEI 1, 2 and 3 do use bilingual trainees to talk to peers. There is room for further development in using this potential expertise and experience of trainees with trainers.

This needs careful handling as the director of HEI 3 explained. He cited an individual Gujarati speaking trainee, who was *'very strong'* and *'very happy'* to talk about code-switching (HEI 3, director, l. 427). He saw negotiation as crucial in order to avoid appearing to patronise individual trainees or groups (HEI 3, director, l.421-428). An additional consideration is the role of trainers as assessors. This may lead to a conflict of interests making honest feedback from trainees difficult. Trainees may see the errors in the



system but nonetheless have to operate within it, as some of the following examples illustrate.

Trainees mentioned how important opportunities to explore linguistic resources with pupils arose during extra-curricular activities at lunch times or after school. Two trainees in Focus Group 5 recalled learning about their pupils speaking other languages during a languages club. Trainee 4, l. 228-230 explained how the class teacher did not include two girls, one from Russia and the other from the Ukraine, in French lessons. As newcomers to Britain, they had limited English. The school seemed to think, *'because they can't speak English, they can't speak another language.'* (Focus Group 5, Trainee 4, l.225).

This was a useful example of the controversy about the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive functioning discussed by Cummins and Swain (1986:3). The teacher's attitudes reflects the two conventional wisdoms described by Candlin, in the introduction to Cummins and Swain, as *'linguistic mismatch'* leading to *'academic retardation'* and the ensuing assumption that there is a need to give pupils maximum exposure to English (Candlin, 1986:xv.). It is a cause for concern that, twenty years later, these misconceptions are still in evidence.

However, the trainees' responses gave more grounds for optimism that attitudes are changing. There may be a 'bottom-up' drive to go beyond the limitations of the Standards and to examine the underlying assumptions related to bilingualism.

Outside the formal classroom environment, trainee 4 in Focus Group 5 felt able to support these pupils in their desire to learn French.

*'The parents were very happy about them coming to this French club. I found it hard when I took this class to*

*ignore them because that was what I was meant to do.*

*They were just drawing or doing their homework. The teacher didn't like it either, but the school said that they were not doing GCSE.'*

(FG 5 Trainee 4, 1.230-233)

The other trainees were dismayed to hear that the teacher was also the Head of Department. This added to their sense of frustration in terms of wanting to promote equal opportunities for all pupils. However, they were heartened by the trainee's positive strategy of trying to work around the system.

Parents' evening presented another fruitful learning opportunity. Trainee 10, who was a German national, suddenly realised that there were four bilingual pupils in her class when she met the mothers at parents' evening.

*'We were able to chat in German, but, all of them said that they wouldn't really speak German at home.'*

(Focus Group 5, Trainee 10, 1. 384-385)

She analysed the experiences of the pupils as follows.

*'On the one hand I thought, ah, that's why they have very good pronunciation...but then they don't really speak German, and so they don't get their success from there, but they are being motivated from there. They are being more successful because of their connections with grandparents and people in Germany.'*

(Focus Group 5, Trainee 10, 1.385-390)

Realising the importance of these connections is a key learning point. She went on to explain how she had used them for modelling dialogues but now realised that these



dialogues had not been challenging them. She had just thought that they were *'brilliant'* students but she quickly acknowledged that

*'It doesn't mean that if students have foreign parents  
that we should less value their ability.'*

(Focus Group 5, Trainee 10, 1.393-394)

Yet this is precisely what does happen with pupils who speak languages that are perceived as low status in that such languages are rarely recognised as a resource but rather as a problem in the classroom.

The modern foreign languages trainees in Focus Group 5 all agreed with one of the bilingual trainees that a key issue was planning for different levels and devising ways of using pupils with higher levels of linguistic competence to help with peer learning without causing embarrassment. One trainee recalled her own experience of feeling *'picked on'* by her German teacher because she was already a fluent speaker. These examples reflect the need for sensitivity when seeking inclusion and celebration of linguistic diversity. Teachers need to know their pupils well and involve the pupils in the decision before assuming such modelling is appropriate.

It was thoughtful contributions such as these that made the focus group discussions part of the training process as well as part of this research. Such insights changed trainees' perceptions of individual pupils and highlight the need to look in detail at the complexity underlying bilingual pupils' experiences. Getting to know pupils in this way takes time and confidence. Trainees need to learn how to look beyond the basic data offered by schools in order to reflect the complexity of diversity in their lesson planning.

Trainees in Focus Groups 2, 3, 4, and 5 mentioned the benefits of being given details about the language backgrounds of their pupils, although knowing how to use this data presented

a challenge. As the English lecturer at HEI 3 explained, trainees often see issues relating to bilingualism and EAL as something of a '*mystery*' unrelated to general teaching and learning strategies '*and therefore they then feel insecure about it.*' (HEI 3, English lecturer, 1.624-625).

This highlights the crucial role of HEI tutors and school mentors in demystifying the teaching and learning in relation to bilingual pupils. They need to be alert to this possible emotional response. Finding time to discuss such uncertainties is a concern for trainers. Problems also occur when the trainers themselves feel similar insecurities and lack of knowledge.

Trainers and trainees are aware of the possible link with racism and the need for sensitivity. Some participants, in connection with certain schools and colleagues, described a tendency towards tokenism or a defensive reaction (HEI 1, director, 1.; HEI 3, director, 1.543-556). This may spring from the fear of uncovering hidden attitudes and racism. In an attempt to raise such issues, HEI 2 had set up a working party of EAL co-ordinators from partner schools to advise on training for HEI staff, school co-ordinators, and mentors.

Such a model recognises the 'expertise' of EAL co-ordinators and places them firmly in the training cycle. However, it does run the risk of reinforcing the image of EAL as a specialist topic outside the mainstream of teaching and learning. Hopefully, the advice from the co-ordinators would place such training firmly within the mainstream framework.

#### **4.3. i.c Intellectually coherent and practically viable**

In an attempt to meld the HEI and school experience, HEI 1 tries to provide an intellectually coherent framework and match this to the realities likely to be faced by trainees in schools. The modern foreign lecturer felt that this approach of preparing



trainees for potential gaps between the ideal and the practice had helped to avert unconstructive criticism of teachers in schools.

*'They have gone in with a kind of different mindset and  
it's actually helped them to be more understanding  
of what the teachers are trying to do.'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.597-598)

This allows trainees to approach criticism from a more positive standpoint, enabling them to engage in constructive discussion of differences. This is particularly important in potentially sensitive areas such as English as an additional language and bilingualism. However, this should not lead to an uncritical acceptance of school practices. Such negative acculturation would be counter-productive.

The need for a principled and intellectually coherent framework is also stressed in HEI 2, where the director maintains that teachers need a strong theoretical framework in order to operate successfully, especially in a climate of change. The lack of a coherent theory relating to bilingualism is therefore of concern as this hinders the development of consistent practical experience. Without detailed ways of seeing, trainees may remain unaware of what experienced teachers are doing. This was one of the reasons why the EAL coordinators felt it was important for the trainees to spend time observing small groups and individual pupils.

Trainees need guidance and criteria in order to inform their observations. The LEA materials used in schools 2 and 3 provide a quadrant demonstrating contextual support and cognitive demands in the classroom. This provides a framework for observation and a tool for planning lessons. With this guidance, trainees realise that repeating phrases parrot fashion or copying information from the board or textbook falls into the context reduced and low cognitive demand sector. In comparison if pupils argue a case, justify an opinion

or demonstrate analytical skills, these skills fall into the context reduced but high cognitive demand sector. Likewise with the context embedded sectors, it is clear that reading for specific information falls into the low cognitive demand bracket whilst planning, classifying and reviewing require higher cognitive skills. Such detailed observations help trainees build up contextually-based knowledge.

#### **4.3. i.d Contextually-based knowledge versus non contextually-based knowledge**

The director of HEI 1 had no doubt that in terms of contextualised knowledge *'the schools are in the front line of the training'* (l.308-309). Trainees are well aware of the crucial role of their school placements and appreciate the tacit contextually-based knowledge that experienced teachers automatically use in their daily contact with pupils.

*'I think it is a fantastic school in that way.... All the teachers and the staff are obviously exposed to a variety of languages all the time and so it's a basic experience for all the teachers I am working with. The majority of them have been here for several years.'*

(Focus Group 3, Trainee 1, l.622-625)

However, this also demonstrates how potentially vulnerable trainees are. Equating established practice with 'good' practice may prove erroneous. The trainee's comment above contrasted with the EAL co-ordinator who felt that teachers were not sufficiently aware of EAL or bilingual pupils.

*'When it comes to practicality in class, there are a lot of teachers who do not feel that they have the skills to deal with it.'*

(School 3, EAL co-ordinator, l.243-245)



The school co-ordinator also expressed reservations about the experience of staff. She observed that few experienced staff remained in the school. She had taught in the school for eleven years and was about to leave (School 3, Fieldnotes, 17.11.04) and felt this reflected a general disaffection from established staff. Ideally, the HEI tutor should know the school well enough to discuss such different opinions and evaluations with the trainees. In reality, the pressures of time make such discussions unlikely.

This raises important questions as to how trainees' judgements are checked and informed by more experienced others. Internal school-based trainers may be reluctant to criticise or challenge practice in their own schools. The trainers from the HEIs may not have sufficient detailed knowledge of the school practice to offer advice or constructive criticism. Trainees, therefore, need a combination of contextually-based knowledge that they can compare and contrast with non contextually-based knowledge that springs from generic theories.

Both trainees and trainers in schools agreed on the importance of contextually-based knowledge. Information concerning groups and individuals was provided on a needs-to-know basis.

*'The mentor is fantastic on that and he explains exactly what the IDPs [individual development plans].., we've got individual education plans that we can look at. Again, it's looking at what levels pupils are at, which you need to think about when you are planning the work... So any information is on a needs-to-know basis. The mentor has been really good on advising on information.'*

(Focus Group 3, Trainee 1, 1.600-604)

This underlines the crucial role of the mentor in explaining data that may be given to trainees. Trainees may need help in interpreting the levels relating to EAL pupils and understanding how these compare to the levels used in the National Curriculum.

The maths mentor in School 4 claimed that *'It doesn't really make sense until you meet the class.'* (1.182-183). He emphasised the importance of fleshing out contextual details in terms of individual pupils which he devolved to the class teacher (1.183). Trainees appreciated the sharing of knowledge through individual education plans and discussion of individual pupils. The benefits of this contextual knowledge were evident in the lesson observations where trainees talked about individual pupils prior to the lesson and reacted appropriately (Fieldnotes, School 4, maths lessons, 20.04.05, 21.04.05; School 2, English lesson, 19.05.05; School 2, science lesson, 24.05.05).

The school co-ordinator in School 3 emphasised the importance of learning from the school context for all teachers regardless of previous experience. She could not recall any formal training in the areas of EAL or bilingualism prior to facing the issue in her present school.

*'It's very much a need that we respond to as it appears.*

*...When I first came here, we had 10% ethnic minority children.*

*...Now we're up to 17% EAL; 25% ethnic minorities and I think,*

*it's the type of thing that is responded to after it's happened.*

*So, you learn to cope because you're dealing with it day-to-day.'*

(School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.182-189)

This very honest reflection highlights the need for a non-contextual understanding prior to facing the experience. Without a theoretical understanding, there is likely to be an ad-hoc response that leads to the coping described here rather than a planned response based on a



clear understanding of the issues related to pupils with EAL and bilingual pupils. This is another example of the possibility of negative acculturation, where trainees may accept the contextualised reality of coping rather than pushing for higher expectations of meeting individual needs and acknowledging individual pupils' linguistic assets. It is at such times that a non-contextualised knowledge in the form of a principled framework based on equality of opportunity and outcome is crucial.

Despite the strong agreement from trainees about the crucial role of contextualised knowledge,

*'The only way we are going to learn the real situation is  
to be faced by it,'*

(Focus Group 4, Humanities trainee, 1.102-103)

the question raised here is how do trainees learn to teach bilingual pupils if they are placed in schools where

*'the experience of working with EAL students is not very rich.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.242)

Trainers in the HEIs are acutely aware that not all trainees will have the opportunity of working in a multi-lingual school. They wrestle with this *'interesting intellectual problem'* (HEI 2, Director, 1.269).

On the positive side, there are strategies that attempt to provide a theoretical framework based on non-contextualised knowledge. One strategy is to use 'experts', such as the EAL co-ordinators and the LEA advisory staff. Another strategy involves tying work on bilingualism and EAL into initiatives, such as language across the curriculum and the Key Stage 3 Strategy. Trainee activities that specify a focus on EAL help highlight key factors that need consideration. The provision of opportunities to learn from peers, who may be bilingual or who are placed in multi-lingual schools, stimulates debates.

On the negative side, there appears to be a lack of underpinning theoretical framework in relation to the whole spectrum of bilingualism. The Standards dictate a focus on EAL and this is duly reflected in the curriculum offered by the HEIs and the practice available in some schools. There is a crucial need for a principled framework based on a multi-lingual rather than a monolingual perspective.

#### **4.3. i.e The impact of Mode of Delivery and different Training Routes**

Linking theory and practice through the partnership between schools and HEI is a fundamental building block for initial teacher training in England. However, the balance of power between the school and the HEI varies according to the chosen mode of practice (Furlong et al, 2000:29-31).

The two major modes, encountered in this research, are the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and the Graduate Training Programme (GTP). Barring a fast track model, trainees are required to spend a minimum of 24 weeks' placement in schools. Some trainees have more contact with the HEI than others. This allows for a stronger theoretical underpinning to the practice gained in schools.

The debate arising from Focus Group 2, which consisted of one PGCE trainee from HEI 1 and one GTP trainee from HEI 3, highlights the difference in approach. Both are prospective English teachers meeting the same national Standards but they concurred that the two modes of practice are '*very different in approach.*' (l.192-195).

The GTP trainee acknowledged that the only guidance she had received concerning EAL was from the Standards. She confirmed the director's statement that there would be a one hour slot in the professional development programme the following day during her day



release back at the HEI 3. Although she had been in the school for over half a term, she had had no contact with the EAL co-ordinator or the Welcome Room.

In comparison, the PGCE trainee had a much clearer focus. Although this was only his second week in the school, he had already approached the EAL co-ordinator and had joined in training designed for the newly qualified teachers in the school. His motivation for doing this was the set activities required by HEI 1. As part of these activities, he was expected to feed-back to his tutor and his peer group. This demonstrates the importance of explicitly including EAL in the initial teacher training curriculum.

In HEI 1 both the director and the lecturer for MFL commented on the differences between the PGCE and the GTP routes. The PGCE has an *'in-out'* (1.98) pattern. This involves three blocks of time in schools with blocks of time in between when the trainees return to the university for de-briefing and re-focussing. The trainers view this as ideal in terms of peer learning and support. The return to the university encourages periods of reflection and self-analysis away from the pressures of the school.

The GTP trainees, on the other hand, spend the majority of their time in school with tutors from the HEI visiting periodically. This leads to tutors repeating advice to individuals isolated in schools rather than encouraging the peer learning evident in the HEI-based models (HEI 1, MFL lecturer, l. 315-320).

- *'Even if they have not gone through it themselves,  
if they can hear someone who has, it helps.'*

(HEI 1, MFL lecturer, l. 127-128).

Trainees in Focus Group 2 and 5 from this HEI felt that they had benefited from such exchanges in connection with EAL. The strength of peer learning was also confirmed by trainees from HEI 2 in Focus Groups 1 and 4.

Supporters of the GTP route argue that the trainees have more time in school to learn from experienced practitioners. The caveat here is when negative practice occurs. All the participating HEIs gave examples of schools, similar to School 1 in this research, where there was no data and little awareness of bilingual or EAL pupils. The activities set by the HEIs for the trainees have often alerted schools to the actual numbers of EAL or bilingual pupils in the school.

In Focus Group 1, the two bilingual trainees were more aware of bilingual pupils in the school after two weeks than the school co-ordinator of many years standing (1.325-327). Activities undertaken through HEI 2 had alerted schools to exact numbers (HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.182-183; HEI 2, science lecturer, 1. 109-111). The director of HEI 1 commented on this potential deficit in awareness and data.

*'We are still trying to compensate a bit for schools not  
being quite where we would like them to be.'*

(HEI 1, director, 1.232-233)

This certainly indicates a lack of equality of opportunity in the schools where bilingual pupils are not even identified. It also confirms the lack of preparedness if a trainee from such a school were to become a newly qualified teacher in a multilingual school.

HEI 2 is not involved in a GTP. For the PGCE, the pattern of time allocation in school reflects the GTP in HEI 3. Both have one day a week release to return to the HEI. However, HEI 2 organises a compulsory theoretical input for two week blocks during each term. This allows for a concentrated subject input as well as cross-curricular approaches to



issues such as EAL. As with the trainers in schools, the caveat is the experience and theoretical knowledge of individual lecturers.

The distance learning mode of delivery at HEI 4 offers the benefits for trainees of easy reference to theoretical inputs. It can offer flexibility in terms of time, place and pace of learning which helps trainees achieve a balance in terms of workload. Trainees can revisit materials as often as they wish, at a time that is convenient in terms of other responsibilities.

One strength of a distance learning course is the personal, flexible, tailoring of provision to meet individual needs. In HEI 4, this flexibility attracts a high number of mature trainees and a higher proportion than the national average of minority ethnic and bilingual trainees. This reflects Kynch's observation that distance-learning students interviewed in his research could not have undertaken a teaching qualification in a traditional face-to-face context (Kynch et al., 2005). The profile of the trainees is important. Competences, such as teaching bilingual pupils, are often highly reliant on personal histories, perceptions and commitments.

E-learning materials can provide stimulating case-studies and try to instigate e-debates. However, all trainees commented on the need for actual experience when it comes to teaching and learning processes associated with bilingual learners.

A potential disadvantage of distance learning is a feeling of isolation. Face-to-face training offers opportunities to learn from peers through informal discussion and structured input. There are opportunities in the distance learning PGCE to take part in e-conferencing and chat-rooms. Indeed, trainees involved in e-learning appreciate the wide network of experience they can draw on through e-mail and e-conferencing. As a national provider,

HEI 4 offers trainees access to a potentially wider range of geographical localities and school contexts than local providers, such as the other three HEIs in this study.

Distance learning presents potential opportunities to exchange a wide range of experiences and ideas linking trainees on a national network rather than into a locally based network of schools within reasonable reach of more traditional providers. In reality, the e-conferences and chat rooms exchanges, analysed in this research, reflect the priorities clearly stated in the national Standards, relating to subject knowledge and classroom management. When the maths conference was checked at the time of the semi-structured interview, no such exchange existed (Field notes, 23.05.05). There is a facility for subject specialists to suggest topics or initiate debate. With an area, such as EAL and bilingualism, it may be important to artificially stimulate discussion rather than relying on the chance of trainees picking up on the issues.

Another consideration is the fact that trainees at HEI 4 are not dependent on attending particular lectures or tutorials, which can lead to individual trainees missing vital lectures as highlighted by the humanities trainee from HEI 2 in Focus Group 4. His complaint about the lack of linguistic input was partly due to missing a key lecture.

Such an incident demonstrates the importance of linguistic diversity and the impact of language being an integral part of teaching and learning, rather than an addition that can be 'missed' so easily. As the MFL lecturer of HEI 1 acknowledged,

*'We are not thinking of it as an add on or the icing on the cake.*

*It is absolutely fundamental but it's a fundamental factor that they won't see until they have done some of the other stuff.'*

(1.275-277)

It is crucial as mentioned above that issues relating to EAL and bilingualism are firmly embedded in core areas, such as the Key Stage 3 Strategy that applies across the



curriculum. This may be more readily attained by a holistic approach rather than the reductionism encouraged by meeting individual Standards and competences.

#### **4.3. ii Holistic versus Reductionist approaches to initial teacher training**

As Tickle (2000) argues in relation to good teaching, the definition of good initial teacher training is '*socially contended and socially constructed*' (Tickle, 2000:6). The national Standards for initial teacher training instigated in England and Wales in 2000 are a social and political construction that reflects a reductionist view of training by the central government. It would be possible to attain qualified teacher status by addressing each standard separately and failing to make connections between the required competences.

This approach could lead to a tick box mentality or the strong analogy used by the director of HEI 2 of a '*supermarket syndrome*' (1.259) with a shopping list of requirements that are systematically crossed off. This analogy matches the market-led metaphors that have dominated the British education system from the mid 1980s onwards (Apple, 2005; Furlong et al, 2000; Hoyle and John, 1995; Tickle, 2000). As Kirk (2000) highlights, there was more discussion with the teaching profession in Scotland about the number and content of the required Standards than there was in England and Wales. The Scottish list concentrates on skills, without excessive prescription. These generic skills include '*critical thinking*' (Kirk, 2000:21).

The number of Standards in England and Wales can appear daunting. The director of HEI 4 would prefer to see all the standards and competences on one side of A4 with helpful guidance that suggested what may be covered by these generic standards (HEI 4, director, 1.478-479). The school co-ordinator in School 3 also expressed concerns about the number of Standards (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.261). Even with specific Standards, it can be difficult to unpack exactly what they cover. The school co-ordinator in School 2

concurred with the idea of more definition explaining that the Standards *'are not helpfully defined enough'* (School 2, school co-ordinator, 1.358). She was unsure whether the Standards relating to pupils with EAL were intended to cover the full range of bilingual pupils. She also queried whether they encompassed issues relating to culture and social status or the multi-cultural nature of British society. Her grave concern was that, without such unpacking, the QTS Standards could be seen as

*'race governed in that the very wording of them is such,  
whereby children who are...say bilingual with a second  
language that is a European language are not being identified.'*

(School 2, school co-ordinator, 1. 114-117)

The systematic collection and dissemination of data relating to pupils' linguistic backgrounds in the school allowed her to cite individual cases to support this statement.

She also commented that some trainees initially did not consider the Spanish speaking pupils from Argentina as part of the EAL brief. She felt that there was a common perception that EAL was related to skin colour. This lack of awareness was confirmed by one of the trainees,

*'I've got students in my tutorial group who I didn't know  
were bilingual, English as a second language. I didn't  
know about it until about three weeks ago, when I  
started to ask if I could pinpoint some of these Standards  
and three of them I would never have guessed.*

*English is their second language. It's amazing, absolutely amazing.'*

(Focus Group 2, maths trainee, 1.215-216)



All trainees had been given comprehensive lists of bilingual pupils but without visible signs, the trainee had not felt the need to know. Such powerful misconceptions need airing or '*problematizing*' as the maths lecturer from HEI 4 described. Her concern was that

*'We are getting towards a climate of slickness, of  
target-setting, target meeting and evidence towards  
Standards...which fails to problematise practice...'*

(HEI 4, maths lecturer, 1.364-368)

She worried that trainees may adopt an attitude of complacency.

*'I've read the stuff on EAL. I've done the task.  
I'm OK on it.'*

(HEI 4, maths lecturer, 1.369)

Her firm response to this was

*'No, you're not. There are still a million issues on this.'*

(HEI 4, maths lecturer, 1.370-371)

Problematizing issues takes time. Trainees need academic and practical support in order to consider the ramifications of issues such as:-

- the mystification and otherness of EAL versus the integration of bilingualism into teaching and learning processes
- the inclusion of the whole spectrum of bilingualism rather than concentrating on pupils identified as having EAL
- their own perceptions of the status of different languages and the ensuing links

These are not easy topics as they can challenge hidden assumptions and require a re-ordering of individual world views and self identity. Blair warns that the process of self-reflection, although essential to coming to grips with professional values, may not be a comfortable one (Blair, 2002:2-3). However, if initial teacher training is to produce teachers who can '*intelligently interpret*' and respond to pupils' diversity rather than

*'practitioners trained in performativity against externally driven criteria'* (Edwards et al, 2002:98), then such reflection is vital.

Time is a constraint that all participants keenly felt (cf 4.2.ii.h.). The pressure to meet the demands of the externally imposed Standards may lead to elements of tokenism or complacency. Without sufficient time for reflection and making connections, the reductionist model promoted by individual Standards and notions of competence may lead trainees to a false sense of achievement. As the humanities trainee in Focus Group 4 reflected,

*'I think there is an element of tokenism, which is a shame  
because it's like teaching kids how to read, we all ought  
to feel confident to do it.'*

(1.215-216)

However, the TTA survey (2004) does not indicate complacency. To the contrary it shows that trainees are dissatisfied with this element of their training. The director at HEI 3 considered that this may reflect the trainees' *perception of what it is to be adequately prepared*' (1.645-646) as if there is some magical answer that has little to do with the rest of their training. He felt that establishing separate Standards encouraged this kind of view.

*'It would make more sense to have it integral to other  
Standards...about differentiation, teaching and effective  
learning...but I guess if you did that then it might not  
happen at all.'*

(HEI 3, Director, 1.554-557)

The English lecturer at HEI 3 equated the dilemma as to whether to highlight EAL and bilingualism as a separate issue to the issue of drama being subsumed into English. The



argument that drama should be an integral part of the English curriculum rather than a separate subject (HEI 3, English lecturer, 1.657-659) often leads to the exclusion of drama in any meaningful way. The underlying danger with this model of inclusion is that the dominant accepted areas of knowledge take precedence over areas that are perceived as periphery to the core of teaching and learning. There is a real risk that this would happen to issues related to bilingualism within the present monolingual framework. As the English lecturer at HEI 3 commented,

*'If we were operating in a more multilingual framework  
then you would not have that separation or that fear of  
what it means.'*

(HEI 3, English lecturer, 1.690 – 691)

This highlights two important issues. Firstly, the nature of the framework for the Standards is essentially monolingual. Secondly, this framework encourages separation of EAL from mainstream English and concentrates on the majority language rather than linguistic diversity. There is a risk that this encourages a sense of fear concerning languages other than English and a feeling that operating in more than one language is unusual rather than the norm. This English lecturer felt that trainees were dissatisfied with their training in this area because they perceived it as separate rather than an integral part of effective teaching and learning. There was a feeling that there is some mysterious content that they are missing out on rather than an understanding that bilingualism and linguistic diversity are an integral part of the teaching and learning process.

Participants acknowledged advantages and disadvantages on both sides of the debate.

Holistic	Reductionist
<b>Positive</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• An integral part</li><li>• Making connections</li><li>• Embedded and woven through</li><li>• Encourages '<i>intelligent interpretation</i>' (Edwards et al., 2002:98)</li></ul>	<b>Positive</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• A specific target</li><li>• Focussed activity</li><li>• Clear criteria</li></ul>
<b>Negative</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Lack of awareness of relevance if not labelled according to the Standards</li></ul>	<b>Negative</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Lack of connections</li><li>• Unquestioning acceptance of externally driven criteria</li></ul>

Table 4.8 Key features of the Holistic versus reductionist debate arising from the data

Despite the reductionist framework, the desire to operate in a holistic fashion was strong in all the four participating HEIs, where participants favoured the implicit approach that brought issues relating to EAL and bilingualism firmly into the mainstream debate. However, they acknowledged that without specific reference, trainees may not make the connections.

The science department in HEI 2 have '*a whole session on literacy and language in science of which EAL is one part.*' (HEI 2, science lecturer,1.48). Although there was no formal recognition of the full spectrum of bilingual pupils, she was keen to emphasise

*'The issue about EAL learners being very diverse and very different, emphasising that they [the trainees] are not to see them in deficit but that actually these people bring tremendous language and literacy skills into the classroom and that they should be utilised... Anything that benefits EAL pupils benefits all pupils because those strategies go right across the board.'*  
(HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.50-55)



This generic session is backed by a specific article on teaching science in a multilingual school. Unfortunately, the emphasis is still on problems rather than resource.

*'What causes problems for EAL pupils also causes problems for first language speakers.'*

(HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.88-89)

It is this strong '*problem*' model which is difficult to break. However, this particular trainer is very aware of the deficit vision of EAL, which she includes in a lecture on racism. She tries to emphasise linguistic diversity as a positive resource.

*'I included an example of EAL as the kind of deficit vision of EAL pupils and not seeing them as tremendously linguistically talented, because they are coping in their own language. They are coping in another and they are more than coping many of them and they have actually got good strategies for themselves. They know how to learn language in the classroom.'*

(HEI 2, science lecturer, 1.141-146)

The strand of knowing how to learn the language of classroom captures the positive '*resource*' element. A strong message arising from the data collected from the HEI participants is that a holistic approach needs to run through the initial teacher training process if trainees are to make intelligent connections. The challenge is how to achieve this within the pressurised framework of externally imposed Standards.

Where the training is predominantly school-based, a holistic approach is less likely. Time pressures and the established patterns of school routines dominate with little priority given to truly reflecting or challenging the status quo. This is of particular concern where the

school context is perceived as monolingual. There is a dichotomy for trainees as they are inducted into established practices and traditions and assessed by set criteria related to these routines, whilst being expected to bring a fresh view and act as reformers (Tickle, 2000:6).

#### **4.3. iii Key Findings from the data analysis - Debates**

If the monolingual perspective that pervades the Standards is to be challenged, then, trainees need to be aware of the diverse codes and registers that all pupils use. As Cochran-Smith argues, there is a

*'Need for preparation for teachers for a diverse society  
that encompasses critical and multicultural perspectives  
that challenge the norms of conventional teacher education,'  
(Cochran-Smith, 2005:15).*

Trainers need to encourage trainees, within a principled framework based on equality of opportunity, to examine how language use affects learning and to draw out the positive resources of linguistic diversity that pupils bring to the classroom. Following Vygotsky's (1962) theory of social interaction, language use should form an integral part of all teaching and learning in order to develop pupils' ideas to the full.

Theory, then, is vital in a context of preparing trainees to work with bilingual pupils (Garcia, 2005:167). If trainees do not have a firm academic theoretical basis to inform their decision about the teaching and learning of bilingual pupils, then they may well develop personal 'theories', as Garcia (2005) suggests, based on their instinctive reaction rather than on knowledge related to language acquisition. This may spring from their acculturation into established practice in schools rather than an intellectual understanding and analysis.



The participants from the HEIs recognise their role in providing academic theory.

However, they also accept that there is a shortfall in this area, especially when the full spectrum of bilingual pupils is considered.

Trainees appreciated the practical experience gained in schools 2, 3 and 4. However, there are concerns about how much time and guidance they have to reflect on their observations and practice in schools.

All four HEIs attempt to thread language issues through the subject specialisms. All acknowledge that the success of this depends on the subject specialist trainers' expertise and personal experience. Opportunities for in-depth discussion within the HEIs are ad-hoc and many trainees rely on the trainers in schools to flesh out in context from the bare bones offered in a non-contextual way by the HEIs. Therefore, there is an element of chance in relation to the opportunities offered to trainees when considering the implications of their contextualised knowledge in a non-contextualised theoretical framework.

As explored above, the school context dictates the quality of the trainees' experience in this field. Even where schools, such as 2, 3, and 4, provide their own professional development training in this area, it is possible for trainees to miss out on actual practical experience within their own classrooms. This happens if pupils are withdrawn from particular lessons or by dint of the particular make-up of individual classes. Ideally, mentors and school co-ordinators should monitor this but the complexities of allocating trainees to classes are such that coverage of EAL or bilingual pupils is not necessarily a priority. This is why the HEI activities are crucial as they enable trainees to ask key questions and alert their mentors to the need for coverage in this area.

The participating trainers conscientiously attempt to cover the EAL requirements as specified by the Standards. However, they openly admit to a deficit model in terms of acknowledging and exploring the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. Despite best intentions, there is pressure to conform to and complete individual Standards in a reductionist way. This tends to take precedence over a holistic approach, based on theory and practice, that allows for an '*intelligent interpretation*' of the Standards (Edwards et al., 2002:98).



# **Data Analysis**

## **Desires**

#### 4.4 Introduction to the data analysis - Desires

The concept of desires in this context encapsulates future trends and the exploration of underlying tensions in connection with initial teacher training and bilingual pupils. This section explores what trainers and trainees would like to see happening within the time constraints of initial teacher training.

##### 4.4. i Trainer Desires

A common desire amongst the trainers was to see a change in the national Standards. The data highlights the underlying tension between specific and generic Standards. Without specific mention, EAL and bilingual issues are unlikely to be addressed as it is not seen as a high priority in schools, such as those participating in this study, where bilingual pupils are a minority. There is a strong desire to see fewer Standards in the hope that this would allow a more profound exploration of generic issues. Based on a different set of principles, it would be possible for core generic Standards to include the positive benefits of linguistic diversity. The new consultative Standards ([www.tda](http://www.tda), 2006; cf Appendix Two) propose a reduction in number.

The Director of the PGCE at HEI 4 articulated this desire as the Standards '*need to become more general and more honest and more doable*' (HEI4, director, 1.482). However, within the present monolingual framework, this would probably lead to the omission of EAL and bilingual perspectives as it is not conceived as a central tenet of learning.

One school co-ordinator in School 3 felt that the Standards were '*quite vague purposefully*' (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.136) in order that they could be covered by a minimal visit or observation. She suggested that a specific area of study should be part of each trainee's remit. Her idea was that trainees could then specialise in one area and be credited with this on their certificate. School 3 had many initiatives that trainees could investigate. The



school co-ordinator felt that it was impossible to do justice to all these initiatives during the short periods involved in school placements. Even with the year long placement involved in the GTP, any in-depth observation of all the initiatives would detract from the teaching time available. This idea, however, could reinforce the concept of separateness already connected with EAL and bilingualism. This idea appears in the consultative new Standards and may offer opportunities for interested trainees to study EAL and bilingualism in more depth(cf Appendix Two).

The school co-ordinator in School 2 would like to see clearer directives. Despite guidance from the TTA (2003) and handbooks from the HEIs, she would appreciate more details.

*'There are clear directives in terms of experience but not  
in terms of the type of training that you might input.'*

(School 2, School Co-ordinator, 1.14-15)

This is an example of Tickle's observation that even with Standards, *'investors are not sure of the exact outcomes required'* (Tickle, 2000:3). However, as Tickle highlights the danger of specifying still further is that the *'creative potential and professional commitment'* (Tickle, 2000:2) so crucial to the teaching and training process could be lost.

There is always a delicate balance between explicit directions and allowing a creative response. However, in areas, such as EAL and bilingualism, where there has been little previous training for trainers to draw on, it may be helpful to provide pointers for the types of training as well as suggestions for activities. It would be possible to achieve this through a distance learning model on the worldwide web. The Training Development Agency website called Multiverse could be an ideal channel for such a development. This could influence both initial teacher training and continuing professional development.

Since the mid- 1990s, the importance of continuing professional development has acquired an ever increasing emphasis. Continuing professional development aims to ensure that teachers maintain and update their professional knowledge (Tickle, 2000). Several participants expressed the desire that areas, such as EAL, should be part of continuing professional development. This idea springs from the belief that newly qualified and practising teachers are more likely to understand and use the training, when faced with the reality of teaching EAL and bilingual pupils. Once more , the proposed Standards for 2007 appear to have heeded this concern (cf Appendix Two).

This concern for continuing professional development was the rationale behind the provision of EAL training for new staff in Schools 2, 3 and 4. The researcher observed this training, provided by the LEA, in School 3. It was of the same high standard offered to the initial teacher trainees in School 2 and covered similar areas. Schools 2 and 4 provide their own internal training which is more ad hoc but nonetheless valued by new members of staff. In contrast, School 1 does not perceive the need for such training for new staff. Without an input in initial teacher training, newly qualified teachers at schools, such as School 1, would not be required to consider the issues related to teaching pupils who operate in more than one language.

In some cases, it may be possible to use bilingual trainees or trainees with specific prior experience to contribute to continuing professional development. It is crucial to maintain an input into initial teacher training in order to ensure equality of access for all trainees to the 'buzz' described by the school co-ordinator in School 3 below.

The EAL co-ordinators definitely wanted to maintain and strengthen the compulsory element of EAL in the Standards.

*'I would like them to come and spend a week in*



*my department and really see what we do.'*

(School 4, EAL co-ordinator, 1.564-565)

*'We are a multi-cultural society and... I would like to see that reflected in teacher training.'*

(School 3, EAL co-ordinator, 1.371-372)

The school co-ordinator in School 4 would have welcomed such emphasis in his initial teacher training. He trained in 1999, prior to the demands of national Standards, and could not recall any opportunities to investigate EAL or bilingualism. Before joining School 4, he had worked in three *'very white schools'* (School 4, school co-ordinator, 1.198) and did not have a *'positive viewpoint'* (School 4, school co-ordinator, 1.444) concerning multilingual schools.

*'If I had experienced the buzz of being in a multicultural school when I was a PGCE student, I may not have taken the same job...I may have had the confidence to look at some other schools'*

(School 4, school co-ordinator, 1.436-440)

His desire to see this potential excitement available for all trainees was strongly linked to building confidence and employment potential. He emphasised the need to be capable of teaching the whole range of pupils in the *'fluid'* employment market (School 4, school co-ordinator, 1.423).

This links with Edwards' (2004) proposals that multilingualism and related areas should be seen as a marketable commodity within a global society. It also draws on the essential *'creative potential'* that Tickle (2000) strongly promotes as a key element to the teaching and learning process. If trainers and trainees perceived the market value of skills relating

to the teaching and learning of bilingual pupils, they may be less inclined to leave it until *'the last box to be ticked'* (HEI 4, Trainee 4, 1.89).

There is a need for a creative approach to work concerning EAL and bilingualism in order to break the vicious circle of lack of preparation and training leading to a lack of confidence that bars new teachers from the excitement of experiencing a multi-lingual school.

The participants from all the HEIs could see potential for exploring present structures and partnerships further in order to stimulate debate about EAL and bilingualism. They expressed desires in terms of utilising peer learning, improving networks of schools, and shifting perspectives to make bilingualism an integral part of the teaching and learning process.

In HEI 1, there are cross-curricular groups that enable trainees to exchange ideas and experiences on generic areas of interest such as education at post sixteen and the use of information technology. This could be expanded to cover EAL and bilingualism. The lecturer for modern foreign languages felt that her department was well placed to examine issues relating to bilingualism and could spearhead the debate. She perceived the challenge as *'making sure we can disseminate good practice across the whole cohort'* (HEI 1, MFL lecturer, 1.42-43). This would include all subject specialisms.

HEI 2 is in the process of developing peer learning further. The bilingual maths trainee in Focus Group 1 had already conducted a session for his peers on his experiences of coming to England with very little previous experience of English at the age of ten. His peers appreciated his candour and the opportunity to explore emotions as well as outcomes attached to his experiences.



The director of HEI 3 recounted similar activities and was clearly aware of the need for sensitivity in asking bilingual trainees to undertake such sessions. There are usually only one or two bilingual trainees in the whole cohort. The process had to be carefully handled in order to avoid stereotyping or focussing on individuals.

Peer learning through electronic conferencing is at the heart of HEI 4 training. It is possible for tutors to introduce ideas and trainees constantly exchange their own experiences. As a national provider, this HEI is recognised by the Teacher Development Agency and OFSTED as attracting more than the national average of minority ethnic and bilingual trainees. There is huge potential for raising relevant issues within the electronic environment which has yet to be fully exploited.

In schools peer learning is a natural part of the professional development programme. Both trainers and trainees felt that peer learning was a crucial strategy that was worth pursuing further. An aspect that was not mentioned was the potential for subject specialists to learn from peers in other HEIs and schools.

Involving larger numbers of schools with 'expertise' in the field of pupils with EAL and bilingualism is a priority for all the participating HEIs. The geographical context of the participating HEIs means there are limited numbers of schools with significant numbers of bilingual pupils or schools that recognise the linguistic diversity of their pupil intake.

When considering how to give all trainees some tangible experience of bilingual or EAL pupils, the directors of the HEIs recognised that it is not desirable to do a '*Cook's tour*' of multi-lingual schools (HEI 2, Director, 1.261-265). This culturally specific allusion referred to the idea of sending trainees for the day to multilingual schools in inner city areas. There was also an acknowledgement that strategies used in schools with high percentages of

bilingual pupils differ to those employed in schools with lower percentages. This is further highlighted by Gaine (2005) who charts limited progress since his first book (1987) addressing issues in schools that perceive their intake as 'all-white' and monolingual.

As the director of HEI 3, commented scale does matter. For teachers in inner urban multilingual schools, linguistic diversity is a fact of every day life that is automatically considered and used as a basis for planning and developing lessons. In schools with 30% or less, there is a need for a more conscious effort as bilingual pupils are a minority.

The caveat expressed below underlines the importance of school placements for trainees.

*'You learn how to teach by beginning to understand the context;  
by developing relationships with students; developing  
the relationships with staff; understanding the politics of schooling;  
and you can't do that if you are going on a Cook's tour of schools.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.261-265)

It is vital that trainees have the opportunity to analyse the school context in detail and develop relationships with staff and pupils, if they are to explore underlying principles relating to bilingualism and EAL.

Ruiz's categories of language as a problem, as a right, and as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) serve as useful categories to analyse the response of participants who were concerned with changing the perspective of language as a problem to language as a right and a resource.

Participants, such as the modern foreign languages lecturer at HEI 1, the science lecturer at HEI 2, the English lecturer at HEI 3, and the maths lecturer at HEI 4 concurred with the language as a right and resource argument. They are keen to change the perspective from language as a problem. Within their own specialisms, they are developing strategies to



help trainees learn to teach bilingual pupils. The science and maths specialists are keen to increase awareness of the use of different languages within their specialisms. They also value a multi-cultural perspective that acknowledges the contributions made to science and mathematics worldwide. The science lecturer hopes to develop trainees' awareness further through case studies and contacts with colleagues in other parts of England and in other countries. The MFL and English specialists offer direct examples of using language as a resource.

Although not necessarily aware of Ruiz's (1984) related theory, the directors in HEI 2 and 3 were also concerned to promote this discussion.

*'The other debate that needs to go on, is about children,  
who are multilingual, are a huge resource for the whole  
class, for the whole year group, for the whole school.  
It is really a resource, not a problem.'*

(HEI 2, Director, 1.586 – 588)

This raises the question as to who instigates such a debate. Ideally, it should take place both through the theoretical perspectives offered at the HEIs and the practical experience in schools.

A key person in this process is the mentor. All the HEIs involved offer mentor training. However, this is generic and predominantly involved with assessment rather than focussing on individual Standards. The HEIs are aware that some schools within their network, such as Schools 2 and 4, already offer experience with EAL pupils. In these schools, linguistic diversity is celebrated as a resource.

The challenge is to disseminate the perspective of bilingualism as a resource more widely. This is difficult while the dominant discourses reflect the demands of the National

Standards. The deficit model of a monolingual framework and perspective emphasises the problem rather than the right and resource perspectives. This model influences the thinking of all those involved in the initial teacher training process.

The school co-ordinator in School 4 suggested a positive strategy whereby trainees could spend time in the school in July in the final half term of the academic year. The same caveat pertains for the School Co-ordinator's suggestion from School 3 that trainees '*chose the focus for themselves, according to the type of school they are in*' (School 3, school co-ordinator, 1.168-169).

There are also practical issues surrounding this suggestion arising from the fact that initial teacher training courses finish in June. Such an arrangement would be reliant on keen individuals to participate either before or after their formal training. This would benefit the participating trainees, but the timing may preclude the very trainees most in need of such additional experience.

It could, however, be considered as a teacher exchange as part of continuing professional development, for example on a masters programme, where practising teachers may have more flexibility at this time of year to visit other schools with such a focus in mind.

#### **4.4. ii Trainee Desires**

Trainees offered similar suggestions about their desires to see changes in the national Standards. There was an explicit desire for a clear focus on language which reflected the concerns of the trainers.

Although the majority of trainees were mature, in the sense of not straight from school and university, only two fell into a category of remembering well an education system in



Britain without a national curriculum (DES, 1988). The majority of trainees therefore accept the need for criteria and standards as part of their own or their children's educational experience. None expressed a desire to see the Standards scrapped. There was general consensus that standards played an important part in the training process.

This acceptance of the status quo may give cause for concern if initial teacher training is to produce teachers who can question the system as a shift from a monolingual perspective to a multilingual one would require.

In line with the trainers, several trainees expressed the desire to see the number of Standards reduced in order to make the process more manageable and to allow for more in-depth exploration of each Standard. This is reflected in the new 2007 proposals (cf Appendix Two).

One English trainee in Focus Group 4 felt a strong desire to limit the number of standards. Her choice of the adage *'jack of all trades and master of none'* (FG 4, trainee 1, 1.53) expressed her frustration at trying to cover such a wide spectrum of pupil needs. Despite pressure from other members of the focus group to make connections between the different needs, she clung to her concept of core basic skills of teaching. She reinforced the constraints of time, experience and resources by expressing the wish for *'another pair of hands'* and *'loads, loads, more resources'* (FG 4, trainee 1, 1.119). This trainee, although in her final two weeks of training, had not yet moved beyond the focus on the mechanics of her own teaching (Furlong and Maynard, 1995:181). Her response highlights the dangers of removing the specific reference to EAL pupils in the Standards. Without the requirement to address EAL pupils, trainees such as this one would not acknowledge this area as a priority.

For the other three trainees in Focus Group 4, there was a keen desire to see more focus on language issues for the general benefit of teaching and learning. One of the maths trainees was horrified by what she perceived as a deficit in language use common to many pupils, regardless of whether they were monolingual or multilingual.

*'The standard of language and the ability to use it  
in different contexts is shocking.'*

(FG 4, trainee 4, 1.600 -601)

During a lesson observation with this trainee, the researcher witnessed the limited language of the bottom set Year 8 maths group. This highlighted the difficulty of having newly arrived EAL pupils in such a group, where there is a general lack of modelling of a wide range of language use. Although the school policy specified placement according to mathematical ability rather than use of English, there were still over 50% of the group who were early stage EAL pupils. Most had had little previous formal education and therefore were placed in the lower sets (Field notes, 20.04.05).

A similar frustration was expressed by the humanities trainee who felt that language was crucial in history. He was trying to encourage pupils to use higher order language skills in terms of expressing opinion; detecting bias and persuading others. He had met resistance as this was not common practice with some of the classes. He felt his own training lacked a focus on the role of language which *'is underplayed in the curriculum and the teaching of history'* (FG 4, trainee 3, 1.575). He recommended that

*'By focussing on the EAL issue, I think it probably would  
improve anybody's thinking in teaching across the board.'*

(FG 4, trainee 3, 1.603-604)

The focus on EAL rather than the full range of bilingual pupils reflects the dominant discourse. Three out of the four trainees in Focus Group 4 concurred with this statement



and agreed with the maths trainee that *'You can't engage in critical thinking without language'* (FG 4, trainee 4, 1.585). This crucial recognition led to a discussion about the role of the whole repertoire of pupils' languages in learning across the curriculum and the link to the whole spectrum of bilingualism. Issues such as how to encourage pupils to use the full range of languages at their disposal to further their thought processes occurred after the formal session finished.

These trainees enjoyed the opportunity to discuss such issues and felt that the pressures, induced partly by the Standards, did not allow for adequate time to reflect. They would appreciate more opportunities for discussion. However, it should be noted that these were four trainees out of a potential twelve, who availed themselves of this opportunity. The others did not prioritise the time or feel the necessity to share their ideas.

#### **4.4. iii Key Findings from data analysis - Desires**

Despite the desire for fewer Standards that are more generic, the trainers and trainees recognised the potential danger of omitting EAL if there was no specific mention. Indeed, this has happened with the omission of a specific reference to bilingual pupils.

The idea of specialising in EAL and bilingualism appeals to the notion of reducing the pressures of time and covering issues in more depth. However, this heightens the risk of trainees missing out on the *'buzz'* of working with bilingual pupils. With insufficient schools highlighting the linguistic diversity of their pupils, there are already trainees relying on the HEI-based activities rather than *'rich, hands-on, concrete experience'* (HEI 2, Director, 1.272). This does not build the necessary experience of relationships and contextual understanding needed to build confidence in valuing linguistic diversity in the classroom.

Peer learning helps build awareness and is a key to involving trainees in the creative process of learning to teach. Backed by good theoretical and practical inputs, peer learning has the potential to help change the problem perspective to one of asset and resource in relation to bilingual pupils.

Within the present Standards, there is the opportunity to make links and establish linguistic diversity as a core for learning. However, trainers recognise the lack of a bilingual perspective in their own initial teacher education. The call for continuing professional development could help to fill this gap but should not replace the desires expressed here to improve further on the Standards required for initial teacher training.



# **Chapter Five**

## **Conclusions**

## **5.0 Introduction to Conclusions**

This chapter returns to the key research questions and applies the findings from the data analysis and the literature review in order to establish conclusions. It reflects on the process of learning to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England as it appeared in the case study schools and Higher Education Institutions. It explores possible future pathways that may encourage policy and practice in initial teacher training to address the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. Recommendations for future developments, as well as possible areas for future research, are proposed. The conclusions refer back to the monolingual and multilingual frameworks (cf Figures 1.1 and 1.2) and the demands, debates, desires, deficits and developments used in the data analysis (cf 3.3.ii.a).

The first research question explored why the Standards relating to bilingualism are frequently perceived as problematic by trainers and trainees. This is closely linked with the third question that addresses the underlying policies, beliefs and strategies. Both of these questions impact on the second question about the quality and extent of training trainees receive in this area. This research has discovered both deficits and positive developments in response to these questions.

## **5.1 Deficits within the monolingual framework**

### **5.1. i National policies**

Within the monolingual framework, there is a lack of consideration of international policies on linguistic diversity and bilingualism beyond the English speaking '*inner circle*' (Edwards, 2004). Ideally, educational decision-makers in England should look to international models of language policies that recognise the centrality of multilingualism within society (Corson, 1990; Coulmas, 1991; Edwards, 2004; Kibler, 2005; Ruiz, 1984).



The policies need to reflect the changing social context and the body of research on language acquisition, in order to determine language policies that reflect and value languages other than English as an asset and resource (Corson, 1990:20).

The lack of an explicit language policy (Kibler, 2005; Nicholas, 1994; Stubbs, 1991) has led to missed opportunities in recognising bilingualism in national strategies, such as the national curriculum (DES, 1988) and the Key Stage Three Strategy (DfEE, 2001). These omissions in national policies send a clear message that bilingualism is not part of the '*instructional landscape*' (Cummins, 2000:112-139; cf 4.2.i) in England.

This is further demonstrated by the lack of a national language survey, which means that bilingual pupils have hitherto remained unidentified and therefore under-valued. The only national data available is for pupils who are identified as having English as an additional language (Bhattacharyya, et al, 2003). Although this may be rectified from 2007 onwards through a national survey (DfES, 2005a), present policies are built on a model that allows bilingual pupils to remain unrecognised for the additional talents they possess.

Another national policy of reducing time for foreign languages within the secondary curriculum has further devalued other languages. The new approach to language learning, which proposes a ladder of learning from primary schools through to adulthood (DfES, 2005b) may help to reverse the present trend, where each year there is a reduction in the number of pupils taking examinations in foreign languages (Smithers and Whitford, 2006:8).

### **5.1. ii National Standards for initial teacher training**

The monolingual perspective has impacted on the discourse of the national Standards for initial teacher training (TTA, 2002; TTA 2006), where the emphasis is firmly on English as an additional language rather than the full spectrum of bilingualism. This emphasis is then reflected in the training process where there is no requirement for any theoretical understanding of complex issues, such as bilingualism. A pragmatic awareness of pupils with EAL is all that is mentioned. There is a danger of even the limited concept of awareness of pupils with English as an additional language being ticked without any real understanding of the underlying issues relating to learning, social and cultural status or self image. This exemplifies Tickle's (2000:16; cf 1.3.) warning that enumerating Standards can lead to a minimal competence model.

This thesis argues that the monolingual framework purveys a deficit model of bilingualism with the emphasis on the need for extra support, rather than on the academic and social benefits of speaking more than one language (Baker, 1988, 2004, 2006; Baker and Prys-Jones, 1998; Bialystock, 1996; Corson, 2001; Cummins, 1984, 2000; Cummins and Swain, 1986; Edwards, J., 1995; Edwards, V., 2004; Romaine, 1989, 1994, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1987, 2000a, 2000b). It prioritises 'standard' English in the national curriculum (DES, 1988) with little regard for the social and cultural exclusion that this imposes on many pupils.

Pupils, who are bilingual and have achieved the required level of 'standard' English, are not identified by the present system as they are not perceived as having a 'problem' with English. This excludes many bilingual pupils from being recognised as having an additional asset that could profitably be used to further their learning skills. The emphasis



is clearly on linguistic diversity as a '*problem*' rather than '*a right*' or '*a resource*' (Ruiz, 1984).

### 5.1. iii Lack of specific training for trainers

Within the present monolingual framework, there is no specific training for trainers in relation to bilingual issues. Until 2002, English as an additional language was not a formal requirement of initial teacher training. This can lead to a lack of confidence and awareness on the part of trainers, unless they have had personal or professional experiences in overtly multilingual environments. Trainers therefore rely on their personal histories rather than formal training.

If personalised learning, as proposed in the new Standards framework for 2007 ([www.tda.gov.uk](http://www.tda.gov.uk); Appendix Two), is implemented, then '*knowledge of learners and their characteristics*' (Schulman, 1986) will be crucial for trainees. Trainers will need specific training to release and improve their tacit knowledge of individual pupils and groups in order to share their knowledge and strategies openly with initial teacher trainees.

At present, there is a lack of theoretical underpinning about the complexity of defining bilingualism and identifying bilingual pupils in schools. Participating trainers articulated a lack of time and suitable resources as further problems in connection with the Standards relating to pupils with English as an additional language (cf 4.2.ii.h). For trainers, who lack experience with bilingual pupils, the emphasis appears to be on resources rather than processes of learning. Multi-faceted issues relating to EAL and to the full spectrum of bilingualism need time for reflection and discussion. Pressures in the training process, especially, if EAL is perceived as a separate issue to mainstream teaching and learning, mean that time for reflection is at a premium.

#### **5.1. iv      Lack of specific training for trainees**

Although Vygotsky's theory of socially constructed learning (1962) is raised in all the participating HEIs, the links between this theory and the advantages of bilingualism is not clearly in evidence. If, as the humanities trainee in Focus Group 4 suggested, a linguistic focus became the heart of the training programme (FG 4, trainee 3, 1.603-604), then the monolith of the monolingual approach may shift to a consideration of the linguistic and cognitive resources and assets brought by bilingual pupils to the learning process (Baker, 2004, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Edwards, J., 1995; Edwards, V., 2004; Garcia, 2005; Romaine, 1989, 2000).

Trainees rely heavily on their school placements to attain data and gain experiences in relation to bilingual pupils. School placements differ in terms of whether linguistic diversity is included as an integral part of equal opportunities. Three out of the four participating schools undertook language surveys that included all pupils. This information was readily shared with trainees. However, trainees and trainers were aware that these school surveys were exceptions rather than the general rule. The difficulty of finding positive placements for trainees was honestly recognised by all the participating HEIs.

These deficits and perceived constraints mean that the whole area can be interpreted as problematic rather than being viewed as a positive integral part of the teaching and learning process.

As with other areas of learning to teach, trainees felt that they only appreciated the complexity and possibilities after they had had the opportunity to work with bilingual pupils and to observe experienced teachers. This helped them demystify the process and



understand the importance of placing language learning at the heart of the teaching and learning process.

## **5.2 Positive strategies and recommendations arising from the case study**

### **5.2. i Subject specialism input**

On the positive side, there is evidence in materials from English in HEI 3, maths in HEI 4, modern foreign languages in HEI 1 and science in HEI 2 that subject-specific training materials articulate the need to recognise the benefits of speaking other languages. Through the personal experiences and commitments of the subject specialist lecturers, there are examples of 'good' practice from multilingual schools, case studies and practical ideas for inclusion of diverse languages and cultures.

Knowledge of the subject specialism is crucial in the national Standards. It is, therefore, vital that issues relating to bilingualism are covered within the subject specific materials if bilingualism is to have any credence in the initial teacher training process in England. Through sharing such developments, this could also prove an effective strategy of training trainers.

The TDA website, [www.multiverse.ac.uk](http://www.multiverse.ac.uk), is developing interactive videos and activities for different subject specialisms. This has the potential to act as a national resource for trainers and trainees alike and could prove a rich source of data for future research.

### **5.2. ii Peer learning**

The idea of peer learning, facilitated electronically, is already a fundamental part of the learning process for trainees at HEI 4, although there is little evidence of bilingualism being raised on the electronic conference facilities. Such issues may need deliberate stimulus from the trainers. However, with the established national electronic network, the

potential for trainees in multilingual schools to share their experiences with those in schools perceived as monolingual are immense.

The other HEIs could all give face-to-face examples of how they had used bilingual trainees' experiences and trainees' experiences of multilingual schools to enhance other trainees' knowledge and awareness (cf 4.2.iv.; 4.3.i.d; 4.4.i.; 4.4.iii.). Trainees spoke favourably of these exchanges, as they felt able to ask questions and probe in more depth with their own peer group. They also found it interesting to explore the different perspectives that emerged from such discussions. This could prove an interesting future research topic.

This concept could profitably be extended to include bilingual trainers exchanging ideas with other trainers. In the absence of bilingual trainers, it may be possible, if sensitively handled, for trainers to explore ideas with bilingual trainees.

### **5.2. iii School policies**

All schools, regardless of their linguistic intake, need to heed Corson's call for broader goals in schools (Corson, 1990:20). Individual schools and HEIs should not underestimate their potential to further social justice and equal opportunities by establishing their own core values, including the valuing of linguistic and cultural diversity within society and their own institutions (Ofsted, 1999; 2003).

Schools with active school policies, like schools 2 and 4 in this study, provide positive placements for training and can have a major impact on attitudes. Through positive recognition of different languages in language surveys, signs around the school, communications to parents, assemblies and events, such as writing competitions that



encourage pupils to write in languages other than English, they help portray a positive image of linguistic diversity. More importantly, they have carefully considered the potential effects of organisational structures, such as setting and the mainstreaming of English as an additional language in order to avoid pupils '*slipping through the net*' (School 2, school co-ordinator, 1.94; FG 4, humanities trainee, 1.183-192).

The real challenge remains for schools like School 1, where, without any data on languages, there is a common belief that there are very few bilingual pupils in the school. Such schools rely on exposure to modern foreign languages as a way to create an interest in other languages. However, in a climate where time for modern foreign languages at secondary level is being reduced, this may not be a positive strategy.

Schools like School 1, with few identified bilinguals need to undertake a language survey in order to reveal the true nature of their intake. They would then need to have a proactive programme for exposing pupils in a positive way to other languages. The new languages ladder ([www.dfes.gov.uk](http://www.dfes.gov.uk), 2006), proposed as a way forward for modern languages teaching, needs to be grasped as an opportunity to expand pupils' knowledge, rather than offering them a minimal input.

Future research could examine whether it is possible to apply strategies used in multi-lingual schools to schools that perceive their intake as monolingual. National strategies, such as the Key Stage Three Strategy and the new learning ladder for languages, apply to all schools and an analysis of positive practice that reflects bilingualism across a range of subject specialism could benefit both future initial teacher training and continuing professional development.

### 5.3 Ways forward

This case study aims to contribute to an under-researched area of how initial teacher trainees learn to teach the full spectrum of bilingual pupils in secondary schools outside the major conurbations. It illustrates that the fundamental monolingual framework underpinning educational policy in England is reflected in policies and Standards related to initial teacher training. This in return determines the focus and discourse of initial teacher training. Unless training institutions have their own strong multilingual policies or individual trainers and trainees have a commitment to promoting bilingualism as a core part of the teaching and learning process, the full spectrum of bilingual pupils will neither be addressed during the initial teacher training process, nor under the new consultative Standards for continuing professional development.

If social justice and equal opportunities are to be promoted for all bilingual pupils, this research proposes that there is a need for a radical rethinking of the place of languages within the secondary school curriculum. If languages are not placed at the heart of the teaching and learning process, many bilingual learners will be continue to be constrained intellectually and cognitively (Vygotsky, 1962) by the strong monolingual framework. Future research could concentrate on the bilingual pupil perspective, which this case study has deliberately omitted.

A multilingual framework would place learning and maintaining languages at the core. This could have economic and social benefits and may help promote global citizens who can appreciate other worldviews and be flexible in their thinking and opinions. As the director of HEI 3 articulated (1.690-692), in a multilingual framework, linguistic diversity would be at the heart of the learning process rather than being treated warily as something different and separate. Trainers, trainees and pupils in schools would have the knowledge and positive attitudes to language learning and how it affects learning in general. Through



using discussion and interaction as a basic process for learning they may come to perceive alternative ways of viewing the world and knowledge.

A change in attitudes needs to ensue so that languages, rather than language in the form of standard English, are perceived as the core of the teaching and learning process. If bilingualism rather than monolingualism is to be the core, it is even more crucial for teaching and learning to become a dynamic, transformative process that enables everyone, regardless of their linguistic background, to participate and learn from each other. In this way, the educative process may produce future citizens of teachers and pupils who appreciate the benefits of living in a multilingual society, rather than feeling insecure or lacking in confidence with this fact of global living. It may also lead to a more satisfying equality of opportunity as everyone becomes valued regardless of their language status as perceived through the prism of monolingualism.

There is a need for *'principled practice in a world of standards'* (Kroll et al., 2005). As Edwards emphasises, it is important that initial teacher training produces practitioners who can *'intelligently interpret'* externally driven criteria and information rather than being *'trained in performativity against externally driven criteria'* (Edwards et al, 2002:2). Given intelligent interpretation, it should be possible to include the full range of bilingual pupils within the requirements of the present and future Standards.

The future proposed Standards have potential for change. For the first time, the Standards (DfES, 2006:12) acknowledge the need for teachers as well as trainees to

*'know how to make effective personalised provision for those they teach, including those for whom English is an additional language ...and how to take practical account of diversity and promote equality and inclusion in their teaching.'*

This acknowledgment of the need for initial teacher training and continuing professional development combined with the emphasis on personalised learning provides positive opportunities to incorporate the full spectrum of bilingual pupils. However, this needs to be viewed in a positive rather than a problematic sense.

The focus on personalised learning could provide a key for a creative focus on pupils' linguistic attributes. Without detailed knowledge of the learner, which should include linguistic background, it will not be possible to '*personalise learning and provide opportunities for all learners to achieve their full potential*' (DfES, 2006:9).

With personalised learning, it will be important that learners still maintain strong communication with each other in order to benefit from each other's perspectives. The vision of a vibrant multilingual Britain may be achievable as young people mix more readily and see the economic and employment benefits of using more than one language. Hopefully, with an education system that values all languages, the social and personal benefits of enjoying alternative ways of looking and ways of perceiving may be realised and lead to greater mutual understanding and respect. In the present political and social climate of global suspicion and unrest, such a change in the '*instructional landscape*' (Cummins, 2000:112) must be worth working towards.

Within the present monolingual framework, there is urgent need for creative vision. If '*deficits are open spaces for learning*' (Tickle 2000:5), then this research proposes that the field of learning to teach bilingual pupils in secondary schools in England is fertile ground for development and exciting new prospects.



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